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SIR JOHN FROISSART'S

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,

AND THE

ADJOINING COUNTRIES,

FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.
TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITIONS,
WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

BY THOMAS JOHNES.

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Who ſo ſhall telle a tale after a man,
He moſte reherſe, as neighe as ever he can,
Everich worde, if it be in his charge,
All ſpeke he never ſo rudely and ſo large;
Or elles he moſte tellen his tale untrewe,
Or feinen thinges, or finden wordes newe.

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

THE SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS,
A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY,
AND A DISSERTATION ON HIS POETRY.

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THE

THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

CHAP. CCV.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LEAVES CALAIS. THE ORDER OF HIS ARMY IN THEIR MARCH THROUGH PICARDY TOWARDS RHEIMS.

WHEN the king of England was arrived at Calais, attended by the prince of Wales and three other ſons, namely Lionel earl of Ulſter, John earl of Richmond, and Edmund, afterwards earl of Cambridge, the youngeſt of the four, with the following lords and their attendants, he ordered the cavalry, proviſion and baggage to be landed, and remained there four days. He then commanded every man to get ready; for he was deſirous of marching after his couſin the duke of Lancaſter.

He left the town of Calais on the next morning, and took the field with the largeſt army and beſt appointed train of baggage-waggons that had ever quitted England. It was ſaid, there were upwards of ſix thouſand carts and waggons, which had all been brought with him. He then arranged his battalions: they were ſo richly and well dreſſed that it was a pleaſure to look at them: he nominated his

couſin the earl of March, whom he much loved, his conſtable.

Firſt marched five hundred knights, well armed, and a thouſand archers, in the van of the king's battalion, which was compoſed of three thouſand men at arms and five thouſand archers; himſelf and attendants riding among them in cloſe order after the conſtable. In the rear of the king's battalion, was the immenſe baggage-train, which occupied two leagues in length: it conſiſted of upwards of five thouſand carriages, with a ſufficiency of horſes to carry the proviſion for the army, and thoſe utenſils never before accuſtomed to be carried after an army, ſuch as handmills to grind their corn, ovens to bake their bread, and a variety of other neceſſary articles.

Next marched the ſtrong battalion of the prince of Wales: he was accompanied by his brothers: it was compoſed of full two thouſand men at arms, moſt excellently mounted and richly dreſſed. Both the men at arms and archers marched in cloſe order, ſo that they were ready inſtantly to engage, ſhould there be occaſion.

On their march, they did not leave even a boy behind them without waiting for him, ſo that they could not well advance more than four leagues a-day.

In this ſtate, they were met by the duke of Lancaſter with the foreign lords, as has been before related, between Calais and the abbey of Licques *,

* Licques,—a ſmall town in Picardy, ſovereignty of Ardres.

in

in a handſome plain. There were alſo, in this army of the king of England, five hundred pioneers with ſpades and pick-axes, to level the roads, and cut down trees and hedges, for the more eaſily paſſing of the carriages.

I wiſh now to name the great lords of England who croſſed the ſea with the king, and the duke of Lancaſter his couſin-german.

Firſt then, there were his four ſons already named; Henry duke of Lancaſter; John earl of March, conſtable of England; the earls of Warwick and Suffolk, marſhals of England; the earls of Hereford, Northampton, Saliſbury, Stamford, Oxford; the biſhops of Lincoln and Durham; the lords Percy, Neville, Deſpenſer, Roos, Manny, Reginald Cobham, Mowbray, Delawarre; ſir John Chandos, ſir Richard Pembridge *, the lord Maine, the lord Willoughby, the lord Felton, the lord Baſſet, the lord Charlton †, the lord Silvancier ‡; ſir James Audley, ſir Bartholomew de Burgherſh, the lord Scales, ſir Stephen Coſſington, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir John Liſle, ſir Neſle Loring, and a great many others whom I cannot recollect.

Theſe lords then rode on in the ſame order I mentioned on their quitting Calais, and marched

---

* Sir Richard Pembridge is buried in Hereford cathedral. See Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

† ‡ In my MSS. it is *Corbanton* and *Silvancier*. Barnes ſays, there was lord John Charlton, who was chamberlain to the king; but who Silvancier is, I cannot find out. Lord Berners repeats the word, and calls the firſt lord Crabalton.

through Artois, paſſing by Arras, taking the ſame road which the duke of Lancaſter had done before. They, however, could not find any proviſion in the flat countries, for every thing had been carried into the different garriſons. The country had been ſo pillaged and deſtroyed, that the ground had not been cultivated for the laſt three years; and there was ſuch diſtreſs and famine in the kingdom of France, that if corn and oats had not been ſent, from Hainault and the Cambreſis, into Artois, Vermandois, the biſhoprick of Laon, and Rheims, muſt have died for hunger.

It was upon this account, that the king, who had been informed of the poverty and diſtreſs in France, had made ſuch ample proviſion before he quitted England. Each lord had done the ſame according to his rank, except in the articles of ſtraw and oats, and for that they did with their horſes as well as they could. The ſeaſon, however, was very rainy, which hurt greatly both themſelves and their horſes; for almoſt every day and night it rained in torrents, ſo that the vintage of this year was worth nothing.

The king continued his march, by ſhort journeys with his whole army, until he came near Bapaume *. I muſt notice here an adventure which befel ſir Galahaut de Ribemmont, a very gallant and expert knight of Picardy. I will firſt inform you, that all the towns, cities and caſtles near the road that the king of England was following were well guarded; for each town in Picardy took and received knights and

* Bapaume,—a ſtrong town in Artois, dioceſe of Arras.

ſquires

ſquires into their pay. The count de St. Pol had poſted himſelf, with two hundred knights, in Arras; the conſtable of France in Amiens; the lord de Monſault in Corbie; ſir Odoart de Renty and ſir Enguerrant de Hedin in Bapaume; ſir Baldwin de Annequin, captain of the croſs-bowmen, in St. Quentin: and thus from city to city, for it was well known to all that the king of England was marching to lay ſiege to the good city of Rheims. It happened, that the inhabitants of Peronne in Vermandois had neither captain nor leader; and as their town was on the line of march the king was taking, and the Engliſh very near, they were not at their eaſe. This town is ſituated upon the river Somme; and the Engliſh followed the courſe of the rivers in preference: they bethought themſelves, therefore, of ſir Galahaut de Ribemmont, who was not at that time engaged to any town, and, as they had heard, was at Tournay. They ſent thither to him moſt courteous letters, to intreat that he would come to aſſiſt in guarding the good town of Peronne, and bring as many companions as were attached to him; that they would pay him every day, for himſelf twenty livres; for each knight under him, ten livres; and each lance having three horſes, ſeven livres * a-day.

* All my copies, MS. as well as printed, have *ung franc* a-day; but as Denys Sauvage has altered it to *ſeven*, and ſays that other authors ſay ſeven, and particularly as la Chaux marks it clearly vii, I have therefore followed it.

Sir Galahaut was always eager for any warlike enterpriſe, and, finding himſelf thus courteouſly ſought after by his neighbours of Peronne, readily complied with their requeſt, and anſwered, that he would ſet out and be with them the day after the morrow. He left Tournay with about thirty lances; but his numbers, as he rode on, increaſed. He ſent to ſir Roger de Coulongne, to meet him at an appointed place, which ſir Roger did, accompanied by nineteen good companions, ſo that ſir Galahaut had now fifty lances. They took up their quarters one night, in their way to Peronne, within two ſhort leagues of the enemy, at a village, but where they found no one, for all the inhabitants of the low countries had fled to the fortified towns.

On the next morning, they were to have got into Peronne, as they were but a ſmall diſtance from it. About the hour of midnight, when ſupper was over, after they had poſted their watch, they were chatting and jeſting about feats of arms, of which they had wherewithal to talk, ſir Galahaut ſaid; 'We ſhall get into Peronne very early to-morrow morning; but, before we make our entry there, I would propoſe an excurſion towards the flanks of our enemies; for I ſhall be much miſtaken, if there will not be ſome of them who will ſet out early in hopes of gaining honor or booty by pillaging the country; and we may perchance meet with them, and make them pay our ſcore.' His companions immediately agreed to this propoſal, kept it ſecret among themſelves, and were ready with their horſes ſaddled at break of day. They took the field in good order, and,

and, leaving the road which led to Peronne, ſkirted the woods to ſee if they could meet with any one: they arrived at a village, the inhabitants of which had fortified the church: ſir Galahaut diſmounted at this place, where there was wine, with bread and meat in plenty, which were offered to them by thoſe within.

Whilſt they were at this place, ſir Galahaut called to him two of his ſquires, one of whom was Bridoul de Tallonne, and ſaid to them; 'Ride forward, and examine the country round, to ſee if you can perceive any one: and, if you find nothing, return here to us: we will wait for you.' The two ſquires ſet off, mounted on good horſes, and made for a wood which was about half a French league diſtant.

This ſame morning, ſir Reginald de Boullant, a german knight belonging to the duke of Lancaſter's diviſion, had rode forth, ſince day-break, and, having made a large circuit without ſeeing any one, had halted at that ſpot. The two ſquires, being come thither, imagined they might be ſome perſons of the country, who had placed themſelves there in ambuſcade, and rode ſo near that each party ſaw the other. The two Frenchmen, therefore, conſulted together, and ſaid, 'If they be Germans, we muſt pretend we belong to them: if they be of this part of the country, we will tell them who we are.' When they were ſo near each other that they could ſpeak, the two ſquires ſoon perceived, by their uniforms, that they were Germans and their enemies.

Sir Reginald de Boullant ſpoke to them in German, and inquired whoſe ſoldiers they were. Bridoul de Tallonne, who well underſtood that language, anſwered 'We belong to ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh.' 'And where is ſir Bartholomew?' 'He is,' replied he, 'in that village.' 'For what reaſon has he ſtopped there?' 'Sir, becauſe he has ſent us forward, to ſee if we can find any thing to forage in this part of the country.' 'By my faith, there is not,' anſwered ſir Reginald; 'for I have been all over it, and have not been able to pick up any thing. Return to him, and tell him to advance, and we will ride together as far as St. Quentin, and ſee if we cannot find out a better country, or ſome good adventure.' 'And who are you?' demanded the ſquire. 'I am called Reginald de Boullant,' anſwered the knight, 'and ſay ſo to ſir Bartholomew.' Upon this the two ſquires turned about, and went to the village where they had left their maſter. As ſoon as ſir Galahaut ſaw them, he aſked, 'What news? have you found or ſeen any thing?' 'Yes, ſir, enough, in conſcience: beyond this wood is ſir Reginald de Boullant, with about thirty more: he has been riding about this neighbourhood all this morning, and deſires much to have your company to ride further forward towards St. Quentin.'

'How,' replied ſir Galahaut, 'what are you ſaying? ſir Reginald de Boullant is a german knight, and in the ſervice of England.' 'All this we know well,' anſwered the ſquire. 'Then how could you get away from him?' 'Sir,' ſaid Bridoul, 'I will tell you.'

you.' He then related to him all that converſation which has juſt been mentioned.

When ſir Galahaut heard what had paſſed, he was for a moment thoughtful, and then aſked the opinions of ſir Reginald de Coulongne and ſome other knights preſent, what was beſt to be done. The knights anſwered, 'Sir, you are ſeeking for adventures, and, when they fall into your mouth, take advantage of them, for by all means, allowed by the laws of arms, every man ought to moleſt his enemy.' To this advice ſir Galahaut cheerfully aſſented, for he was very deſirous of meeting the Germans.

He ordered his ſteed to be got ready, and put on his helmet with the viſor down, that he might not be known: the reſt did the ſame.

They quitted the village, and, getting into the fields, rode to the right for the wood, where ſir Reginald was waiting for them. They might be about ſeventy men at arms, and ſir Reginald had but thirty.

As ſoon as ſir Reginald perceived them advancing, he collected his men together in a very orderly manner, and thus left his ambuſcade, with his pennon diſplayed before him, and marched with a gentle pace to meet the French, whom he believed to be Engliſh. When he was come up with them, he raiſed his viſor, and ſaluted ſir Galahaut, by the name of ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh. Sir Galahaut kept his face covered, and replied in a low voice, adding, 'Come, come, let us ride on.' Upon which,

which, his people drew off on one ſide, and the Germans on the other.

When ſir Reginald de Boullant noticed his manner, and that ſir Galahaut was eyeing him aſkance without ſaying a word, ſome doubts entered his mind. He had not rode a quarter of an hour before he ſtopt ſhort, under his banner, in the midſt of his people, and ſaid aloud; 'I have ſome ſuſpicions, ſir knight, that you are not ſir Bartholomew de Burgherſh; for I am well acquainted with ſir Bartholomew, and hitherto I have not ſeen your face; therefore, you muſt tell me your real name, before I ride any farther in your company.'

At theſe words, ſir Galahaut raiſed his viſor, and advanced towards the knight, in order to ſeize the reins of his horſe, crying out, 'Our Lady of Ribemmont!' which was echoed by ſir Roger de Coulongne, crying, 'Coulongne to the reſcue!'

Sir Reginald, perceiving his miſtake, was not much frightened, but laying his hand quickly on his ſword of war, which he wore by his ſide, that was both ſtiff and ſtrong, drew it out of the ſcabbard; and, as ſir Galahaut advanced to take the bridle, ſir Reginald gave him ſo furious a ſtroke with this ſword, that it penetrated the armour, and paſſed through his body. Having drawn it back again, he ſtuck ſpurs in his horſe, and left ſir Galahaut grievouſly wounded.

The companions of ſir Galahaut, perceiving their maſter and captain in ſuch a condition, were like madmen: they drew themſelves up, and attacked the

the party of ſir Reginald moſt fiercely, when ſome of them where unhorſed. As for ſir Reginald himſelf, he had no ſooner ſtruck ſir Galahaut than, clapping ſpurs to his horſe, he had galloped off. Some of ſir Galahaut's ſquires purſued him, whilſt others were engaged with the Germans, with the intention of being fully revenged: but ſir Reginald, who was a bold and accompliſhed knight, was not much alarmed: however, when he found himſelf ſo cloſely purſued, that it was proper to turn about or be diſgraced, he wheeled round, and ſtruck the neareſt ſo violently with his ſtrong ſword, that he had not any deſire to follow him further: thus, as he was riding off, he beat down, and ſeverely wounded three; and, had he had a ſharp battle-axe in his hand, every one of his ſtrokes would have killed a man.

In this manner did the knight eſcape from the French, without receiving the ſmalleſt wound, which his enemies, as well as all thoſe who heard of it, conſidered as a moſt gallant act: but it fared otherwiſe with his people, as they were almoſt all killed or made priſoners, ſcarcely any eſcaping.

They placed ſir Galahaut de Ribemmont, who was very ſeverely wounded, on a litter, and carried him to Peronne to a phyſician. He was never perfectly cured of this wound; for he was a knight of ſuch courage that he would not allow it time to heal, ſo that he died ſhortly afterward.

We will now return to the king of England, and relate how he laid ſiege to the city and caſtle of Rheims.

CHAP. CCVI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS SIEGE TO THE CITY OF RHEIMS, AND TO THE CASTLE OF CHARGNY. THE WAR RE-COMMENCES BETWEEN THE DUKE OF NORMANDY AND THE KING OF NAVARRE.

THE Engliſh continued their march, until they had paſſed through Artois, the low country of which they found in great poverty and diſtreſs for proviſions, and had entered Cambreſis, where all things were in greater abundance; for the inhabitants of the plains had not carried their proviſions into any fortreſſes, thinking themſelves ſecure from the Engliſh, as forming a dependance of the empire; but the king of England did not conſider them in that light, nor look upon Cambreſis as part of the empire.

The king took up his quarters in the town of Beaurevoir in Cambreſis, encamping his army in the neighbourhood, where they halted four days to refreſh themſelves and horſes, and from whence they overran the greater part of the country of Cambreſis.

The biſhop, Peter of Cambray, and the councils of the lords of the country and the principal towns, ſent divers meſſengers, under a paſſport, to inquire the grounds of the war. They received for anſwer, that ſome time ago they had contracted alliances with the French, had aided them much, had ſupported them in their towns and fortreſſes, and had before made part in the war as enemies: that theſe were

were the reaſons why the war was carried on in their country: nor could they get any other anſwer. The Cambreſians were therefore obliged to put up with their loſſes and grievances as well as they could.

The king continued his route through Cambreſis, and entered Tierache *; but his people overran the country to the right and left, and took proviſions wherever they could lay hands on them. It chanced, that in one of theſe foraging parties, ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh, in riding towards St. Quentin, accidentally met the governor of that place, ſir Baldwin d'Annequin, when both riders and horſes met together: there was great confuſion, and many were unhorſed on each ſide; but in the end the Engliſh gained the field, and ſir Baldwin d'Annequin was captured by ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh, to whom he had before been a priſoner at the battle of Poitiers.

The Engliſh returned to the king, who that day was lodged in the abbey of Femy †, where they found great plenty of proviſions for themſelves and horſes: they then paſſed on, and continued their march without any hindrance, ſo that they arrived in the environs of Rheims.

* Tierache, – a fertile country in Picardy, watered by the Oiſe and the Serre, to the weſt of Champagne, and ſouth of Hainault.

† Femy,—a village in Cambreſis, on the borders of Hainault.

The

The king's quarters were at St. Waal beyond Rheims, and the prince of Wales's at St. Thierry *, where they held their courts. The duke of Lancaſter, after them, kept the greateſt houſehold. The counts, barons and knights were quartered in the neighbouring villages to Rheims, ſo that they were not very comfortable, nor had they weather to pleaſe them; for they had arrived there in the depth of winter, about St. Andrew's day, when it was very rainy: their horſes were badly houſed, hardly treated, and ill fed, as the whole country was ſo deſtroyed, by having been for two or three years before the theatre of war, that no one had tilled or ſowed the ground. There was ſuch ſcarcity of corn of all ſorts, many were forced to ſeek forage ten or twelve leagues off. Theſe parties met frequently with the garriſons of the neighbouring fortreſſes: ſharp ſkirmiſhes enſued between them: ſometimes the Engliſh loſt, at others were victorious.

Sir John de Craon, archbiſhop of Rheims, the count de Porcien, ſir Hugh de Porcien his brother, the lord de la Bone, the lord de Canency, the lord Dannore, the lord de Lore, were governors and captains of the town at the time the king of England beſieged it. Many other barons, knights and ſquires of the diſtrict of Rheims were alſo there, who exerted themſelves ſo much that the town ſuffered little loſs or damage from the ſiege:

* St. Thierry,—a ſmall village in Champagne, dioceſe of Rheims.

beſides

beſides, it was ſtrong, well fortified, and as well defended.

The king of England was not deſirous of ſtorming it, leſt his army might ſuffer too much from wounds or fatigue; he remained, therefore, before it, from St. Andrew's day to the beginning of Lent.

Detachments from his army, however, ſcoured the country in ſearch of adventures. Some of them went over the whole country of Rhetel, as far as Warq*, to Maiſieres†, Donchery‡, and Mouſon§: they quartered themſelves in the country for three or four days; and, after having pillaged it without let or hindrance, they returned again to their army.

During the time that the king of England was before Rheims, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt had taken the good town of Achery ſur Aine‖; in which he had found a great quantity of proviſions, and, in particular, upwards of three thouſand tons of wine. He ſent a large portion of it to the king of England and his ſons, for which they were very thankful.

Whilſt this ſiege laſted, many knights left it, to ſeek what good fortune they might find. Among

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* Warq-les-Maiſons,—a village of Champagne, election of Rhetel.

† Mezieres,—a ſtrong city of Champagne, dioceſe of Rheims, election of Rhetel.

‡ Donchery,—a town of Champagne, on the Meuſe, dioceſe of Rheims, election of Rhetel.

§ Mouſon, —a town of Champagne, dioceſe of Rheims.

‖ Achery,—a town in Picardy, on the Oiſe, dioceſe of Laon. The river Aine falls into the Oiſe near Compiegne.

others,

others, ſir John Chandos, ſir James Audley, the lord of Mucident, ſir Richard de Pontchardon, with their companies, advanced ſo near to Châlons in Champagne, that they came to Chargny en Dormois *, where there was a very handſome and ſtrong caſtle. Having carefully examined it, they were very deſirous of gaining this caſtle, and directly made an aſſault on it.

Within it were two good and valiant knights as governors: the name of one was ſir John de Caples, who bore for arms a croſs anchored ſable, on a ſhield or.

The attack was ſharp and long: the two knights and their garriſon defended themſelves well; and it behoved them ſo to do, for they were aſſaulted very roughly. The lord of Mucident, who was a powerful and rich lord in Gaſcony, advanced ſo forward at this attack, that he received a ſevere blow from a ſtone on his helmet, through which it found a paſſage to his head: he was ſo badly wounded, that he could not be carried away, but died in the arms of his people.

The other barons and knights were ſo enraged at the death of the lord of Mucident, they ſwore they would never quit the place until they had conquered the caſtle, and all that were in it. They renewed the aſſault with double vigour: many gallant deeds were performed: for the Gaſcons, being irritated by the loſs of their lord, ruſhed into the ditches, cloſe to the walls of the caſtle, without ſparing themſelves, and, placing their ſhields over their heads,

* Dormois,—a country of Champagne, dioceſe of Rheims.

climbed

climbed up them: the archers, in the mean time, kept ſuch a continual volley of arrows, that no one dared to appear. The caſtle was ſo briſkly aſſaulted that it was won, but it coſt them dear. When the Engliſh were maſters of it, they made the two knights priſoners who had ſo valiantly defended it, and ſome other ſquires and gentlemen: the reſt of the garriſon they put to the ſword. They deſtroyed much of the caſtle of Chargny, becauſe they did not wiſh to keep it, and returned to the king and his barons, to relate what they had performed.

During the time they were before Rheims, great animoſities and hatred aroſe between the king of Navarre and the duke of Normandy. I am not perfectly well informed of the real cauſe *, but ſo it was, for the king of Navarre quitted Paris ſuddenly, and went to Mantes ſur Seine, from whence he ſent his challenge to the duke and his brothers. Many a baron was much ſurpriſed at this, and wondered for what cauſe the war was to be renewed.

However, a ſquire from Bruſſels, whoſe name was Wauſtre Oſtrate, under pretence of this war, took the ſtrong caſtle of Roulleboiſe upon the Seine, a ſhort league from Mantes, which was afterwards a great annoyance to the Pariſians and all the neighbourhood.

* Probably occaſioned by the king of Navarre's treaſonable deſigns being diſcovered. See Villaret's Hiſt. of France, pp. 216, &c.

It is ſaid there, that the caſtle of Roulleboiſe was taken by one of the king of Navarre's captains.

While the king of England was beſieging, with his whole army, Rheims, it happened that the lord Gomegines, who had returned to the queen in England, at the time the king had ſent all ſtrangers out of Calais, as has been before related, re-paſſed the ſea, and with him ſome ſquires of Gaſcony and England, who accompanied him into Hainault, intending to join the army before Rheims.

The young lord of Gomegines, being eager to advance himſelf, collected ſome men together on his return to Hainault. Many men at arms joined him, and ſerved under his pennon. When they were all aſſembled, they might amount to about three hundred. They ſet out from Maubeuge *, where they had been muſtered, and came to Aveſnes †, which they paſſed through, and then to Trelon ‡.

The lord of Roye, at this period, was in garriſon at Roye § in Tierache: there were a great many companions with him, as well knights as ſquires; and he had been informed, by the ſpies he kept in pay on the borders of Hainault, of the lord of Gomegines having collected a body of forces, which he was marching to the aſſiſtance of the king of England before Rheims, and that he and his troops muſt paſs through Tierache. As ſoon as the lord

* A ſtrong town in Hainault, on the Sambre, dioceſe of Cambray.

† Aveſnes,—a ſtrong town in Hainault, dioceſe of Cambray.

‡ Trelon,—a village in Flanders, near Aveſnes.

§ Roye,—a ſtrong town in Picardy. My printed copies have it Ray, two MSS. Roy, one Roſoy.

of

of Roye had aſcertained the truth of this intelligence, he communicated it ſecretly to all his fellow-ſoldiers in the neighbourhood, and particularly to the lord Robert, canon de Roberſart, who at that time managed the eſtates of the young earl de Coucy, and reſided in the caſtle of Marle *. When the canon heard it, he was not ſlow in obeying the ſummons, but came to the lord of Roye with full forty lances. The lord of Roye was choſen the chief of this expedition, as indeed he had reaſon to expect, for he was a powerful baron in Picardy, and for the times was a good man, and a gallant ſoldier, much renowned, and well ſpoken of in various places.

Theſe French men at arms, who might amount to three hundred, poſted themſelves in ambuſcade on the road the lord of Gomegines and his troops muſt neceſſarily paſs, who was quite ignorant of their intentions, and who thought to continue his march unmoleſted; he entered, therefore, Tierache, and, taking the road to Rheims, came very early in the morning to a village called Habergny †, where they determined to halt for a ſhort time to refreſh themſelves and horſes, and then to continue their route without any more delay. They diſmounted in this village, and began to make preparations for feeding their horſes. Whilſt his companions were thus employed, the lord of Gomegines, who was

* Marle,—a town in Picardy, dioceſe of Laon.

† Habergny. Barnes calls it Harcigny, which is a village in Picardy, dioceſe of Laon. Habergny is not in the Gazetteer.

then young and wilful, ſaid, he would ride out of the village to ſee if he could not meet with ſomething better to forage. He called to him five or ſix of his companions, and Chriſtopher du Mur * his ſquire, who bore his pennon: they quitted the village furiouſly, but without any order or regularity.

It happened that the French knights and their troops were in ambuſcade near this village: they had followed them the preceding day and night, in order that they might combat them with more certainty; and, if a proper opportunity had not offered itſelf in the plain, they intended to have entered the village, for the purpoſe of attacking them; but the lord of Gomegines fell into their hands.

When the French lords perceived the lord of Gomegines and his company advancing on this ſecret excurſion, they were at firſt ſurpriſed, and could not conceive who they might be. They ſent two ſcouts on the look-out, who brought back word, that they were enemies.

This news was no ſooner heard than they quitted their ambuſcade, each crying out, 'Roye, for the lord of Roye!'

The knights advanced before the lord of Roye, who had his banner diſplayed in front. There were ſir Flamen de Roye his couſin, ſir Lewis de Roberſart, the canon de Roberſart his brother, who was a ſquire, ſir Triſtram de Bonne-roye, and others, each armed according to his condition, with

* Barnes makes him an Engliſhman, of the name of Moor; but I ſee no cauſe for it.

their

their ſwords hanging to their wriſts, and their ſpears couched, towards their enemies, crying out, 'Roye, for the lord of Roye!'

When the lord of Gomegines perceived the ambuſcade he had fallen into, he was much aſtoniſhed; but he determined to ſtand his ground, and wait his enemies, for both himſelf and followers diſdained to fly: they couched their ſpears, and formed themſelves in order of battle. The French, being well mounted, charged theſe Engliſh and Gaſcons, who were not very numerous; and, at the firſt charge, the lord of Gomegines was run through with a ſpear, and had not afterwards an opportunity, from the ſituation of the place, to remount his horſe. His people fought valiantly, and many gallant deeds were done; but in the end the lord of Gomegines could not hold out; he was therefore made priſoner, on his parole. Two of his ſquires had fought valiantly, but were forced to yield or they would have been ſlain, as well as Chriſtopher de Mur, a valiant ſquire, who bore the pennon of the lord of Gomegines. To make an end of this affair, all thoſe of the Gomegine party were either ſlain or made priſoners, except the valets, who, being well mounted, ſaved themſelves by flight. No purſuit was made after them, more weighty conſiderations occupying their enemies.

CHAP. CCVII.

THE LORD OF ROYE AND HIS COMPANY DEFEAT THE REMAINDER OF THE TROOPS OF THE LORD OF GOMEGINES.—THE CASTLE OF COMMERCY * SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH.

THE knights and ſquires who had taken the lord of Gomegines, and overthrown all thoſe who had followed him out of the village, did not wiſh to loſe time, but, putting ſpurs to their horſes, galloped into the above mentioned village, calling out, 'Roye, for the lord of Roye!' Thoſe who were there were much alarmed at this cry, and ſurpriſed to find their enemies ſo near them, as they were chiefly diſarmed and ſcattered about, ſo that they could not rally nor collect together.

The French made priſoners of them at their pleaſure, in houſes, barns and ovens; and the canon de Roberſart had many who ſurrendered themſelves to him, becauſe his banners were better known than thoſe of the others. It is true, indeed, that ſome of them retreated to a ſmall fortified houſe, ſurrounded by a moat, which is ſituate in this village of Harcigny, and conſulted among themſelves whether to defend it until the king of England, who was before Rheims, might hear of their diſaſter, (for the manſion could very ſoon be made ſtrong enough to enable them to hold out,) when they thought, that as ſoon as he ſhould know of their ſituation, he

* Commercy is not in the Gazetteer. Barnes calls it Cormicy, which is a town in Champagne, dioceſe of Rheims.

would

would without doubt ſend forces to relieve them. Some, however, heſitated, as the houſe was in an open country, and they were ſurrounded by their enemies. Whilſt they were thus debating, the lord of Roye and his companions came before it, and ſaid to them; 'Liſten, gentlemen; if you force us to make the ſlighteſt aſſault, we will not ſuffer any one of you to eſcape death; for, if we begin, we will continue the attack until we take it.' Theſe and ſuch like words threw them into confuſion; and even the boldeſt were alarmed: they ſurrendered, therefore, on having their lives ſpared.

They were all made priſoners, and ſent to the caſtle of Coucy, and the other garriſons from whence the French had marched.

This diſaſter happened to the lord of Gomegines and his party about Chriſtmas 1359. When the king of England was informed of it, he was mightily enraged; but he could not amend it.

We will now return to the ſiege of Rheims, and ſpeak of an adventure which happened to ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh, who had laid ſiege to the town and caſtle of Cormicy, in which was a knight of Champagne, whoſe name was ſir Henry de Vaulx; he wore black armour, and bore for arms five almonds argent on a field ſable: his war-cry was 'Viane' *.

* In all the printed books I have ſeen, his name is Henry de Noir, but at the end it is Henri de Vaulx. My two MSS. have, 'Meſſire Henri de Vaulx, et s'armoit le dit meſſire Henri, de noir a cinq amans d'argent, et criet Viane.'

Q. Amans,—not in any of my dictionaries. Mr. Lodge ſuppoſes they muſt mean almonds.

During this ſiege of Rheims, the earls, barons and great lords were quartered in the neighbourhood, as you have before heard, in order to prevent any proviſion being carried into that city. Among them was ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh, a great baron of England: he and his ſuite, with his company of archers and men at arms, were lodged near Cormicy, where there is a very handſome caſtle belonging to the archbiſhop of Rheims, who had put into it the knight before mentioned, with many good companions, to guard it againſt their enemies.

They were far from fearing any attack; for the caſtle had a large ſquare tower, whoſe walls were very thick, and it was well furniſhed with arms of defence.

When ſir Bartholomew had ſurrounded this caſtle, and, by well reconnoitering its ſtrength, found he could not take it by aſſault, he ordered a number of miners, whom he had with him in his pay, to get themſelves ready and do their duty in undermining the fortreſs, when he would reward them handſomely: upon which they replied, they would cheerfully undertake it.

The miners immediately broke ground, and, having lodged themſelves in their mine, worked night and day; inſomuch that they advanced far under the great tower; and, as they puſhed forward, they propped up the work, that thoſe within knew nothing of it.

When they had thus completed their mine ſo that they could throw down the tower when they choſe, they came to ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh, and ſaid to him; 'Sir, we have carried our works ſo far

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that this tower, great as it is, ſhall be thrown down whenever you pleaſe.' 'It is well,' replied ſir Bartholomew; 'but do nothing more without my orders:' to which they willingly conſented. The knight immediately mounted his ſteed; and taking John de Guiſtelles * with him, who was one of his companions, they advanced to the caſtle, and ſir Bartholomew made a ſignal that he wiſhed to have a parley with thoſe within.

Upon this, ſir Henry came forward on the battlements, and demanded what he wanted. 'I want you to ſurrender,' replied ſir Bartholomew, 'or you will be all infallibly deſtroyed.' 'By what means?' anſwered the French knight, who began to laugh: 'we are perfectly well ſupplied with every thing; and you wiſh us thus ſimply to ſurrender: certainly it ſhall not be to-day,' added ſir Henry. 'Certainly,' ſaid the Engliſh knight, 'if you were truly informed what your ſituation is, you would ſurrender inſtantly, without more words.' 'Why, what is our ſituation?' demanded ſir Henry. 'If you will come out, upon my aſſurance of your ſafety, I will ſhew you,' replied ſir Bartholomew. Sir Henry accepted the condition, and came out of the fortreſs, with only three others, to ſir Bartholomew and John de Guiſtelles, who immediately conducted them to the mine, and ſhewed them that the great tower was only ſupported on props of wood.

When the French knight ſaw the peril he and his garriſon were in, he told ſir Bartholomew, that he had very good reaſons for what he had ſaid, and

* Barnes calls him lord John de Botetourt; but he gives no authority for it.

that

that his proceedings were truly gallant and noble: 'we ſhall therefore ſurrender ourſelves to your will.'

Sir Bartholomew took them all his priſoners, made them leave the tower one after the other with their baggage, and then ſet fire to the mine.

The timber was ſoon on fire; and, when the props were burnt, the tower, which was extremely large, opened in two places, and fell on the oppoſite ſide to where ſir Bartholomew was ſtanding, who ſaid to ſir Henry and the garriſon of the fortreſs, 'Now, ſee if I did not tell you the truth.' 'We own it, ſir,' replied they, 'and remain priſoners at your pleaſure. We alſo return you our beſt thanks for your kindneſs to us; for if the Jacques, who formerly overran this country, had had the ſame advantage over us that you have, they would not have acted ſo generouſly.'

Thus were all the garriſon of Cormicy made priſoners, and the caſtle thrown to the ground.

The king of England remained before Rheims for upwards of ſeven weeks, but never made any aſſault upon it, as it would have been uſeleſs. He began to tire; and, as his army found great difficulties in obtaining forage and proviſion, their horſes periſhed. He broke up his camp, and marched off towards Châlons, in Champagne, in the ſame order as before.

The king and his army paſſed very near to Châlons, and ſat down before Bar ſur Aube, and afterwards before the city of Troyes. He took up his quarters at Mery ſur Seine *.

* Mery ſur Seine,—dioceſe and election of Troyes, ſeven leagues from Troyes.—GAZETTEER.

The

The whole army lay between Mery and Troyes, which is reckoned to be eight leagues diſtant from each other.

Whilſt he was at Mery ſur Seine, his conſtable *, who commanded always the van battalion, advanced and came before St. Florentin †, which was under the command of ſir Odoart de Renty; and, after having diſplayed his banner, (which was blazoned, or and azure, a chief pally, and at each of the two corners girons, and an eſcutcheon argent in the midſt of the ſhield,) before the gate of the fortreſs, made a fierce attack on it, but in vain. The king of England and his whole army came and took up their quarters at Saint Florentin and the neighbourhood, on the banks of the river Armançon ‡.

When they marched from thence, they came before Tonnerre §, which was ſo briſkly attacked, the town was won, but not the caſtle. The Engliſh, however, found in that town upwards of three thouſand tons of wine, which were of great ſervice to them.

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* Roger earl of Mortimer. See more of him and his arms, in Aſhmole, p. 692.

Mr. Lodge ſays, the arms of Mortimer have puzzled heralds at all times: but the terms heralds now uſe in blazoning the arms of Mortimer are theſe; 'Barry of ſix or and azure, an ineſcutcheon argent; on a chief of the firſt three pallets of the ſecond, between two girons or.'

† St. Florentin,—ſituated on the Armançon, thirteen leagues from Troyes.

‡ In the printed copies it is Mouſon, but in my MSS. Armançon

§ Tonnerre,—ſituated on the Armançon, dioceſe of Langres.

At this period, the lord de Fiennes, conſtable of France, was in the city of Auxerre * with a number of men at arms.

CHAP. CCVIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND, AFTER HE HAD RAISED THE SIEGE OF RHEIMS, WASTES AND DESTROYS ALL THE COUNTRIES HE PASSES THROUGH.—HE COMES TO GUILLON, WHERE HE REMAINS.—GREAT QUANTITIES OF PROVISION FOLLOW THE ARMY.

THE king of England and his army remained five days in Tonnerre, on account of the good wines he found there. The caſtle was often aſſaulted; but it was well provided with men at arms, commanded by ſir Baldwin d'Annequin, maſter of the croſs-bows. When they had well repoſed and refreſhed themſelves in Tonnerre, they marched off, and croſſed the river Armançon. The king of England left the road to Auxerre on his right hand, and took that which leads to Noyers †: his intentions were to enter Burgundy and paſs his Lent there. He and his whole army marched above Noyers; but he would not ſuffer any attack to be made on it, as the lord of it was his priſoner ſince the battle of Poitiers. They marched on for their

* It is Dampierre in the printed copies. Denys Sauvage thinks it ought to have been Auxerre. It is Auxerre in my MSS.

† Noyers,—a town in Burgundy, on the river Serin, dioceſe of Langres.

quarters

quarters to a town called Montroyal *, ſituated on a river called Sellettes; and, when the king left it, he went up that river, and proceeded ſtraight to take poſſeſſion of his lodging at Guillon †, which is alſo on its banks; for one of his ſquires called John d'Alençon, who bore for his arms a ſcutcheon argent in a field azur, had taken the town of Flavigny ‡ in its neighbourhood, and had found within it a ſufficiency of proviſion for the whole army for a month. This was very fortunate, as the king remained there from the night of Aſh-Wedneſday until Mid-lent. His marſhals and light troops ſcoured the country round, burning and deſtroying it, and frequently bringing to the army freſh proviſions.

I muſt inform you, that the king of England and his rich lords were followed by carts laden with tents, pavilions, mills and forges, to grind their corn and make ſhoes for their horſes, and every thing of that ſort which might be wanting. For this purpoſe there were upwards of ſix thouſand carts, each of them drawn by four good and ſtrong horſes which had been tranſported from England. Upon theſe carts alſo were many veſſels and ſmall boats, made ſurpriſingly well of boiled leather: they were large enough to contain three men, to

* I cannot find Montroyal, nor the river Sellettes, in the Gazetteer.

† Guillon,—a town in Burgundy, in the bailiwick of Avalon.

‡ Flavigny,—a town of Burgundy, ſituated near the Onzerain, bailiwick of Semur-en-Auxois.

enable

enable them to fiſh any lake or pond, whatever might be its ſize: and they were of great uſe to the lords and barons during Lent: but the commonalty made uſe of what proviſions they could get.

The king had, beſides, thirty falconers on horſe-back, laden with hawks; ſixty couple of ſtrong hounds, and as many greyhounds; ſo that every day he took the pleaſure of hunting or fiſhing either by land or water. Many lords had their hawks and hounds as well as the king.

Their army was always in three diviſions, and each perſon kept to his diviſion: there was alſo a van-guard to every one of them, and their quarters were one league diſtant from each other, the king being with the third and largeſt diviſion. This order was conſtantly kept on their march from Calais, until they came before the town of Chartres.

During the time the king of England remained at Guillon, where he was living on the proviſion which John d'Alençon had found in Flavigny, his thoughts were employed in deviſing means to keep and maintain himſelf in France. The young duke of Burgundy and his council, at the requeſt of his ſubjects, ſent to the king divers lords and knights, as ambaſſadors to treat with him, ſo that the duchy of Burgundy ſhould not be deſtroyed or pillaged. The under-named lords accepted this commiſſion: firſt the lord Anſelme de Sallins, great chancellor of Burgundy, ſir James de Vienne, ſir John Dèrie, ſir Hugh de Vienne, ſir William de Thoroiſe and ſir John de Montmartin.

Theſe lords managed the affair ſo well, and found the king of England in ſuch good humour, that a treaty was ſoon entered into between them; and a compoſition was made, that for three years no part of the duchy of Burgundy ſhould be overrun, on condition of having 200,000 livres paid down *. When this treaty was finiſhed and ſealed, the king and his whole army diſlodged, and ſet out on his return, taking the ſtraight road for Paris, fixing his quarters at Avalon † upon the river Couſin, below Vezelay ‡.

The quarters of his army extended from the river Yonne as far as Clamecy §, to the entrance of the county of Nevers. The Engliſh entered Gatinois; and the king made ſuch forced marches that he came ſo near Paris as to take up his quarters within two ſhort leagues of it, at Bourg la Reine. As he and his army paſſed through the country, they deſtroyed it on all ſides. On the other hand, the garriſons which he had in Picardy, Beauvoiſis, the Iſle of France, Champagne and Brie, carried on a continual war, and ruined the country.

The king of Navarre reſided in Normandy, and made a cruel war againſt France, inſomuch that that

* See this treaty in Rymer, anno 1360. The ſum was, 200,000 moutons,—50,000 to be paid at the enſuing feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt, 100,000 at Chriſtmas, and 50,000 at Eaſter.

† Avalon, a town of Burgundy, on the Couſin, which falls into the Yonne.

‡ Vezelay, a town in Nivernois, dioceſe of Autun, four leagues from Clamecy.

§ Clamecy,—a ſmall city of the Nivernois, dioceſe of Auxerre, on the conflux of the Yonne and Beuvron.

noble

noble kingdom was ſo grievouſly oppreſſed, it did not know which way to turn itſelf.

But above all, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt was the moſt active: his quarters were at Cheny ſur Aiſne, where he had a ſtrong garriſon of ſoldiers and men at arms, who overran, pillaged and ranſomed the good county of Rethel, from Donchery to Mezieres, and as far as Cheſne le Pouilleux and Stenay *, in the county of Bay †. They quartered themſelves wherever they choſe in all that country, for two or three nights, without oppoſition from any one, and then returned unmoleſted to their garriſon at Cheny, to refreſh and recruit themſelves.

It is true indeed, that all the neighbouring lords, knights and ſquires threatened them much: they met together, and appointed different days for their aſſembling, to take the field and beſiege ſir Euſtace in his caſtle of Cheny; but nothing in fact was done.

It happened that theſe adventurers (whoſe whole thoughts, night and day, were occupied on the beſt means of taking towns, and in what parts of the country they ſhould find moſt to pillage) came one night to a good town with a ſtrong caſtle, ſituated in the Laonois ‡, tolerably near to Montagu §, and in a very deep marſhy country, the name of which

* Stenay,—in the dioceſe of Treves, on the Meuſe.

† I cannot find, in any dictionary, the county of Bay. It is Buy in Denys Sauvage. Stenay is in the dioceſe of Treves: but even the connection of names is ſo wide, I cannot ſuppoſe it to be a miſtake for Treves.

‡ Laonois,—in Picardy.

§ Montagu,—in Picardy, dioceſe of Laon.

was Pierrepont*. At this time, there were in it a great many people of the country, who had carried thither their goods, truſting to the ſtrength of the place. When ſir Euſtace's companions arrived, the guard was aſleep: they marched, therefore, through the deep marſhes with much loſs, for their avarice urged them on, and they came to the walls of the town, which they entered without reſiſtance, and robbed at their pleaſure. They found in it more riches than in any other place; and, when it was day, they burnt the town, and returned to Cheny well laden with booty.

CHAP. CCIX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE UNDER GREAT TRIBULATION.—A CORDELIER FRIAR PROPHECIES.—THE ENGLISH PLACE AN AMBUSCADE FOR THOSE WHO SHOULD COME OUT OF PARIS.

ABOUT this period, a franciſcan friar, full of knowledge and underſtanding, was at Avignon: his name was John de Rochetaillade: and pope Innocent VI. kept him a priſoner in the caſtle of Baignoux, not only on account of the great propheſies he made of the times to come, chiefly and principally relating to the heads and prelates of the holy church, by reaſon of their pride and the expenſive life they led, but alſo concerning the kingdom of

* Pierrepont,—village of Picardy, dioceſe of Laon.

France, and the great lords of Chriſtendom, for their heavy oppreſſions on the common people. The above-mentioned John was willing to prove all he ſaid from the Apocalypſe, and by the ancient books of the holy prophets, which were opened to him through the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, by which he uttered things that were difficult to be credited.

Some of the predictions he had made were ſeen to come to paſs within the time, which he never could have foretold as a prophet but by means of the ancient Scriptures, and the Holy Spirit, that had given him the power of underſtanding theſe ancient propheſies, and of announcing to all Chriſtians the year and time when they were to be fulfilled.

He made many books, full of much ſcience and learning. One was written in the year 1346, which contained many marvellous things, difficult of belief, but of which ſome had come to paſs already. When he was queſtioned concerning the war againſt France, he anſwered, that what they had ſeen was nothing to what was to happen; for there would be no peace until the realm of France was deſtroyed and ruined from one end to the other. This indeed happened afterwards; for that kingdom was completely ſpoiled at the time the friar had fixed, in the years 1356, 1357, 1358 and 1359; inſomuch that none of its princes or gentlemen dared to ſhew themſelves againſt thoſe of the low eſtate collected from all parts, and who had arrived, one after the other, without leader or chief, whilſt the country had not any means of reſiſting them. They elected

(as

(as you have before ſeen), in different parts of the country, captains from among themſelves, to whom they paid obedience. The captains, when they enrolled any man in their companies, made certain agreements with them reſpecting their ſhares of booty and the ranſoms of priſoners: they found ſo much pillage, that all the leaders became rich from the great wealth they amaſſed.

King Edward was lodged at Bourg la Reine, two ſhort leagues from Paris, and his army in different parts between that and Montlhery*. He ſent from thence his heralds to the Duke of Normandy in Paris, who had with him a great number of men at arms, to offer him battle; but the duke would not accede to it. His meſſengers, therefore, returned without having done any thing. When the king found that his enemies would not venture out of Paris, he was mightily enraged: upon which that good knight, ſir Walter Manny, ſtepped forth and beſought his lord that he would permit him to make an excurſion and aſſault as far as the barriers of Paris.

The king conſented to his requeſt, and named himſelf thoſe knights that ſhould accompany him. He made alſo many new knights on the occaſion; among whom were, the lord Delawarre, the lord de Silvacier, ſir Thomas Banaſter†, ſir William Tor-

* Montlhery,—a town in the Iſle of France, ſeven leagues from Paris.

† Sir Thomas Banaſter was afterwards elected knight of the garter in this king's reign. See his life in Anſtis' Hiſtory of the Garter, vol. ii. p. 153.

ceaux, ſir Thomas le Deſpenſier, ſir John Neville, ſir Richard Doſtmay and many others. Colart d'Ambreticourt, ſon of ſir Nicholas, would have been of the number; for the king was deſirous of it, as he was attached to his perſon and ſquire of his body; but the young man excuſed himſelf, by ſaying he could not find his helmet.

Sir Walter Manny ſet out on his enterpriſe, and carried with him theſe new knights to ſkirmiſh and make an attack on the barriers of Paris. Many hard blows were given and received; for there were within the city ſeveral valiant knights and ſquires, who would willingly have ſallied forth, if the Duke of Normandy had given his conſent. They, however, guarded the gates and barriers ſo well that no damage was done to them. This ſkirmiſh laſted until twelve o'clock, and many were killed on both ſides. Sir Walter then retreated with his people to their quarters, where they remained together that day and the following night. On the morrow, the king diſlodged, and took the road to Montlhery.

When the camp was breaking up, ſome Engliſh and Gaſcon knights planned the following enterpriſe. They thought, that as there were ſo many knights in Paris, ſome of them would ſally out after them; and ſome young adventurers would endeavour to gain, by their valour, both honor and booty. They therefore placed two hundred picked men, well armed, in an old empty houſe, three leagues from Paris. The chiefs on the Gaſcon party were, the captal de Buch, ſir Aymery de Pommiers and the lord de Courton: on the Engliſh, the lord Neville,

Neville, the Lord Mowbray and ſir Richard de Pontchardon.

Theſe ſix knights were the leaders of this ambuſcade.

When the French who were within Paris perceived that the king of England was decamping, ſome young knights collected together, and ſaid among themſelves; 'It will be a good thing for us to ſally out ſecretly, and follow a while the army of England, to ſee if we cannot gain ſomething.' They were all inſtantly of this opinion, ſo that ſir Raoul de Coucy, ſir Raoul de Ravenal, the lord de Monſault, the lord de Helay, the conſtable of Beauvais, le bègue de Villaines, the lord de Beaufiers, the lord of Ulbarin, ſir Gauvain de Valouel, ſir Flamant de Roye, ſir Azelles de Cavilly, ſir Peter de Fermoiſes, Peter de Savoiſies, and upwards of a hundred lances with them, ſallied out well mounted, with a thorough good will to do ſomething; but they muſt firſt find the occaſion. They took the road to Bourg la Reine, which they paſſed, and gained the open fields, when they followed the track of the cavalry and army of England, and rode beyond the ambuſcade of the captal and his company.

They were no ſooner paſſed than the Engliſh and Gaſcons marched out of it, after them, with their lances in their reſts, ſhouting their war-cry. The French turned about, wondering who they could be: but they ſoon found they were their enemies. They immediately halted, and drew themſelves up in battle-array, and, with couched ſpears, prepared

to meet the Engliſh and Gaſcons, who ſoon joined them. At this firſt onſet many were unhorſed on each ſide, for both parties were well mounted. After this tilting-bout, they drew their ſwords, and, attacking each other more cloſely, many hard blows were given, and many gallant deeds performed. This attack laſted a conſiderable time, and the ground was ſo well diſputed, that it was difficult to ſay which of the two would be conqueror. The captal de Buch ſhone particularly, and did with his hand many deeds worthy ſo good a knight. In the end, however, the Engliſh and Gaſcons fought ſo valiantly, that the field remained to them; they were more than half as many again as the French.

The lord of Campreny ſhewed himſelf a valiant knight on the ſide of the French, and fought gallantly under his banner, the bearer of which was ſlain: his banner was argent, a buckle gules, between ſix martlets ſable, three above and three below. The Lord of Campreny was made priſoner. The other French knights and ſquires, who ſaw the ill ſucceſs of their attempt, and that they could not recover themſelves, took the road toward Paris, fighting as they retreated, and the Engliſh purſuing them moſt eagerly. In this retreat, which continued beyond Bourg la Reine, nine knights, as well bannerets as others, were made priſoners; and, if the Engliſh and Gaſcons who purſued them had not been afraid that others might ſally out of Paris to their aſſiſtance, not one would have eſcaped being killed or taken.

When

When this enterpriſe was finiſhed, they returned towards Montlhery, where the king was. They carried their priſoners with them, to whom they behaved very courteouſly, and ranſomed them handſomely that ſame evening, allowing them to return to Paris, or wherever elſe they choſe, taking readily their word of honour as ſufficient ſecurity for their ranſom.

The intention of the king of England was to enter the fertile country of Beauce, and follow the courſe of the Loire all the ſummer, to recruit and refreſh his army in Brittany until after Auguſt; and as ſoon as the vintage was over, which from all appearances promiſed to be abundant, he meant to return again and lay ſiege to France, that is to ſay to Paris; for he wiſhed not to return to England, as he had ſo publicly declared, on ſetting out, his determination to conquer that kingdom, and to leave garriſons of thoſe who were carrying on the war for him in France, in Poitou, Champagne, Ponthieu, Vimeu, Valgueſſin*, in Normandy, and throughout the whole kingdom of France, except in thoſe cities and towns which had voluntarily ſubmitted to him.

The duke of Normandy was at this time at Paris with his two brothers, their uncle the duke of Orleans and all the principal counſellors of ſtate, who, well aware of the courage of the king of England, and how he pillaged and impoveriſhed the whole

* Moſt probably Vexin. Vexin Normand is bounded on one ſide by the Seine.

realm of France, knew alſo that this ſituation could not laſt, for the rents both of the nobles and clergy were generally unpaid. At this period, a very wiſe and valiant man was chancellor of France, whoſe name was ſir William* de Montagu, biſhop of Therouenne: by his advice the kingdom was governed: every part of it profited from his good and loyal counſel. Attached to him were two clerks of great prudence; one was the abbot of Clugny, the other friar Symon de Langres, principal of the predicant monks, and doctor in divinity. Theſe two clerks juſt named, at the requeſt and command of the duke of Normandy and his brothers, the duke of Orleans their uncle, and of the whole of the great council, ſet out from Paris with certain articles of peace. Sir Hugh de Geneve, lord of Autun, was alſo their companion. They went to the king of England, who was overrunning Beauce, near to Gallardon†.

Theſe two prelates and the knight had a parley with the king of England, when they began to open a treaty of peace with him and his allies. To this treaty the duke of Lancaſter, the prince of Wales, the earl of March‡ and many other barons were ſummoned. However, this treaty was not con-

* The preſident Henault calls him Gille Ayçelin de Montagu, cardinal and biſhop of Thérouenne, vol. i. 4to, p. 263.

† Gallardon,—a town in Beauce, dioceſe and election of Chartres.

‡ This is a miſtake, for the earl of March was killed a month prior to this treaty, the 26th of February, at Rouvray in Burgundy.—BARNES.

cluded,

cluded, though it was diſcuſſed for a long time. The king of England kept advancing into the country, ſeeking for thoſe parts where was the greateſt abundance. The commiſſioners, like wiſe men, never quitted the king, nor ſuffered their propoſals to drop; for they ſaw the kingdom in ſuch a miſerable ſituation, that the greateſt danger was to be apprehended if they ſhould ſuffer another ſummer to paſs without peace.

On the other hand, the king of England inſiſted on ſuch conditions as would have been ſo very grievous and prejudicial to France, that the commiſſioners, in honor, could not aſſent to them: ſo that their treaties and conferences laſted ſeventeen days, the two prelates and the lord of Autun conſtantly following the king of England: this laſt was much liſtened to at the court of the king. They ſent every day, or every other day, their treaties and minutes to the duke of Normandy and his brothers at Paris, that they might ſee what ſtate they were in, and have anſwers thereto; as well as to know in what manner they were to act. All theſe papers were attentively examined, and conſidered privately, in the apartments of the duke of Normandy, and then the full intentions of the duke were written down, with the opinions of his council to theſe commiſſioners: by which means, nothing paſſed on either ſide without being fully ſpecified and examined moſt cautiouſly. Theſe aforeſaid Frenchmen were in the king's apartments, or in his lodgings, as it happened, in the different places he halted at, as well on his march towards Chartres

as

as otherwiſe; and they made great offers, to bring the war to a concluſion; but the king was very hard to treat with: for his intention was, to be in fact king of France, although he had never been ſo, to die with that rank, and alſo to put Brittany, Blois and Touraine in the ſame ſituation as thoſe other provinces where he had garriſons. If his couſin the duke of Lancaſter, whom he much loved and confided in, had not perſuaded him to give up ſuch ideas, and adviſed him to liſten to the offers of peace, he never would have come to any terms. He very wiſely remonſtrated with him, and ſaid; 'My lord, this war which you are carrying on in the kingdom of France is wonderful to all men, and not too favorable to you. Your people are the only real gainers by it; for you are waſting your time. Conſidering every thing, if you perſiſt in continuing the war, it may laſt you your life; and it appears to me doubtful if you will ever ſucceed to the extent of your wiſhes. I would recommend therefore, whilſt you have the power of cloſing it honorably, to accept the propoſals which have been offered to you; for, my lord, we may loſe more in one day than we have gained in twenty years.'

Theſe prudent and ſenſible words, which the duke of Lancaſter uttered loyally, and with the beſt intentions, to adviſe the king of England to his good, converted the king to his opinion, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, who alſo worked to the ſame effect: for an accident befel him and all his army, who were then before Chartres, that much humbled him, and bent his courage.

During

During the time that the French commiſſioners were paſſing backwards and forwards from the king to his council, and unable to obtain any favourable anſwer to their offers, there happened ſuch a ſtorm and violent tempeſt of thunder and hail, which fell on the Engliſh army, that it ſeemed as if the world was come to an end. The hail-ſtones were ſo large as to kill men and beaſts, and the boldeſt were frightened.

The king turned himſelf towards the church of Our Lady at Chartres, and religiouſly vowed to the virgin, as he has ſince confeſſed, that he would accept of terms of peace. He was at this time lodged in a ſmall village, near Chartres, called Bretigny; and there were then committed to writing, certain rules and ordinances for peace, upon which the following articles were drawn out. To follow up this, and more completely to treat of it, the counſellors and lawyers of the king of England drew up a paper called the Charter of Peace, with great deliberation and much prudence, the tenor of which follows.

CHAP. CCX.

THE FORM AND TENOR OF THE PAPER DRAWN UP AS ARTICLES OF THE PEACE, WHICH WAS CONCLUDED BEFORE CHARTRES, BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

EDWARD, by the grace of GOD, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. As, in conſe-

conſequence of the diſſenſions, variance, diſcord and ſtrife, that have ariſen, or that might have been expected to ariſe between us and our very dear brother the king of France, certain commiſſioners and procurators from us and from our dear ſon, Edward prince of Wales, having ſufficient power and authority for us, for him and for our kingdom on the one part, and certain other commiſſioners and procurators from our ſaid brother, and from our very dear nephew Charles duke of Normandy and dauphin of Vienne, eldeſt ſon to the aforeſaid king of France, having power and authority from his father, in this inſtance, for his father and for himſelf on the other part, have been aſſembled at Bretigny, near Chartres; in which place the above-mentioned diſſenſions, variances and ſtrife were diſcuſſed, debated, and finally cloſed; and the commiſſioners from us and from our ſon, for us and for him, and the commiſſioners from our aforeſaid brother and nephew, for his father and for himſelf, did ſwear upon the holy Evangeliſts, to preſerve, keep and fulfil the aforeſaid treaty, as we have alſo ſworn and will ſwear to whatever is ſaid or concluded in the above treaty.

And in this treaty, among other articles, our brother of France and his ſon aforeſaid, are held and have promiſed to give up and ſurrender to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, the counties, cities, towns, caſtles, fortreſſes, lands, iſlands, rents and revenues, and other things which follow, with all that we now are in poſſeſſion of in Guienne and Gaſcony, to hold for ever by us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, in the ſame manner that the kings of

France

France have always held them; that which is in demeſne in demeſne, and that which is in fief in fief, in ſuch manner as will be hereafter explained; that is to ſay, the city, caſtle and county of Poitiers, with all the lands and country of Poitou, together with the fief of Thouars* and the lands of Belleville†: the town and caſtle of Saintes, and all the lands and territory of the county of Saintonge on each ſide the river Charente, with the town and fortreſs of la Rochelle, their appurtenances and appendages: the city and caſtle of Agen, and the country of Agenois: the city, town, caſtle, and all the lands of Perigord, with the whole country of Perigueux: the city and caſtle of Limoges and country of Limouſin: the city and caſtle of Cahors and country of Cahorſin: the city, caſtle and country of Tarbes; the territory of the country of Bigorre: the country and lands of Gaure: the city and caſtle of Angoulême, with all the country of Angoumois: the city and caſtle of Rodais, and the county and country of Rouergue: and if there ſhould be any lords in the duchy of Guienne (ſuch as the count de Foix, the count d'Armagnac, the count de l'Iſle, the viſcount de Carmain, the count de Perigord, the viſcount de Limoges or others,) that hold any lands within the boundaries of the above-mentioned places, they ſhall be bounden to do us homage, and all other

* Thouars,—an ancient city on a hill, and on the river Thoue, ſixteen leagues from Poitiers.

† Belleville. There are two villages in Poitou of this name,—one near Niort, the other near les Sables d'Olonne.

ſervices

ſervices and duties due on account of their lands and places in the ſame manner as they formerly have performed them; and we ſhall re-enter upon all that we, or any other kings of England have poſſeſſed, as well as upon theſe places whence we formerly had received nothing.

The viſcounty of Montreuil ſur mer has been alſo promiſed to be given up to us in the ſame manner as in former times, and all whatſoever we or any other king of England poſſeſſed there: and whereas there have ariſen diſputes relative to the diviſion of this territory, our brother of France has promiſed, that he will declare it to be ours as ſpeedily as poſſible after his return to France.

Item, it is alſo promiſed that the county of Ponthieu ſhall be delivered over to us entire, ſave and except that if any part of it ſhould have been alienated by the kings of England who reigned before us, and were formerly poſſeſſors of it and its appurtenances, to others than the kings of France, neither our aforeſaid brother, nor his ſucceſſors, ſhall be bounden to ſurrender them: and if the ſaid alienations have been made to any former kings of France, immediately, without paſſing through a third perſon, and our aforeſaid brother be in poſſeſſion of them, he ſhall render them wholly up to us; excepting that if the kings of France have had them from us in exchange for other lands, we will deliver up ſuch lands ſo exchanged: but if any of the kings of England at former times ſhould have alienated or diſpoſed of any parts to others than to the kings of France, and it ſhould afterwards have come into

into the hands of our aforeſaid brother, he ſhall not be obliged to ſurrender them: and if the parts aforeſaid owe homage to us, or our ſucceſſors, he ſhall grant them to others, who will pay us that homage; but, if they do not owe homage, he ſhall then give them to a tenant that ſhall do us ſuit and ſervice, within the year enſuing upon our departure from Calais.

Item, the caſtle and town of Calais: the caſtle, town and lordſhip of Merle; the towns, caſtles and lordſhips of Sangate, Couloigne, Ham, Walles and Oye, with the lands, woods, marſhes, rivers, rents, lordſhips, advowſons of churches, and all other appurtenances and places lying within the limits and bounds following; that is to ſay, from Calais to the courſe of the river before Gravelines, and alſo by the courſe of the river which falls into the great lake of Guines, as far as Fretun, and from thence by the valley round the mountain of Chalk, incloſing that mountain, and as far as the ſea, including Sangate and all its appurtenances.

Item, the king of England ſhall alſo poſſeſs the caſtle, town, and the whole county of Guines, with all its caſtles, towns, fortreſſes, woods, lands, men, homages, lordſhips, foreſts, rights, as completely as the laſt count of Guines, lately deceaſed, held it during his life: and the churches and good men, being within the boundaries of the ſaid county and other places above mentioned, ſhall obey him in the ſame manner as they did our aforeſaid brother, the count of Guines, for that time. All theſe things comprehended in the preſent article, and in the preceding

ceding one of Merle and Calais, we ſhall hold in demeſne, excepting the inheritances and poſſeſſions of the churches, which ſhall remain wholly to the ſaid churches wherever they may be ſituated; and alſo except the inheritances of the other people of the countries of Merle and Calais, as far as the value of one hundred pounds a-year in land, according to the current coin of the country; which inheritances ſhall remain to them of the aboveſaid value and under; but the habitations and inheritances in the town of Calais, and their appurtenances, ſhall remain in demeſne to us, for us to order and do as we pleaſe with them: and alſo all the poſſeſſions of the houſeholders and inhabitants of the county and town of Guines ſhall remain to them, and ſhall be reſtored fully, ſave and except what is ſaid and declared relative to the bounds and frontiers above mentioned, in the article of Calais.

Item, the king of England ſhall have poſſeſſion of all iſlands adjoining to the lands or places above mentioned, together with all other iſlands he was poſſeſſed of at the time of this treaty.

And it has alſo been diſcuſſed, that our aforeſaid brother and his eldeſt ſon ſhould renounce all right and ſovereignty which they may have over the above mentioned places, and that we ſhould poſſeſs them as a neighbour, without any vaſſalage or dependance on our ſaid brother, or on the kingdom of France; and that our brother aforeſaid ſhall give up to us in perpetuity all right and dominion which he may have over the places before mentioned.

And it has alſo been diſcuſſed, that in like manner we and our ſaid ſon ſhall expreſsly renounce all thoſe things that are not to be given up and ſurrendered to us by the ſaid treaty, more eſpecially the name of king of France, and all right and title to that kingdom, and to the homage, ſovereignty and domain of the duchy of Normandy, the county of Touraine, and the counties of Anjou and Maine; and to the ſovereignty and homage of the county of Flanders; and to the ſovereignty and homage of the duchy of Brittany (excepting the right of the count de Montfort, and what claim he may have on that duchy and country of Brittany, which we reſerve, and by expreſs words put out of our treaty; ſaving, however, that when we and our aforeſaid brother ſhall come to Calais, we will ſo manage the buſineſs, by the advice of able counſellors and other deputies, that we will eſtabliſh peace and concord between the count de Montfort and our couſin ſir Charles de Blois, who claims and challenges the inheritance of Brittany): and we renounce whatever claims we made, or may have made, of any ſort whatever, except thoſe things above mentioned which are to be given to us and our heirs; and we give up and ceaſe from making any claims on all other things, but thoſe which are to be yielded to us.

Upon which ſubject, after many altercations had taken place, ending in a mutual agreement that theſe renunciations, tranſportations, ceſſions and aforeſaid ſurrenderings ſhould be made as ſoon as our ſaid brother ſhall have given up to us, or to our people eſpecially deputed for that purpoſe, the city

and caſtle of Poitiers, with all the territory of Poitou, together with the fief of Thouars and of Belleville; the city and caſtle of Agen, with all the territory of the Agenois; the city and caſtle of Perigord, with the territory of Perigueux; the city and caſtle of Cahors, with the territory of Cahorſin; the city and caſtle of Rodais, with the territory of Rouergue; the city and caſtle of Saintes, with the territory of Saintonge; the city and caſtle of Limoges, with all the territory of Limouſin; and that which we or other kings of England have held in the town of Montreuil ſur mer, with its appurtenances. Item, the whole county of Ponthieu, ſave and except the contents of the article contained in the ſaid treaty which makes mention of the ſaid county. Item, the caſtle and town of Calais; the caſtle, town and lordſhip of Sangate, Colloigne, Ham, Walles, Oye, with the lands, rivers, marſhes, rents, woods, lordſhips and other things mentioned in the article reſpecting them. Item, the caſtle, town and entire county of Guines, with all the lands, caſtles, towns, fortreſſes, places, men, homages, woods, lordſhips, foreſts and rights, according to the tenor of the article which in the treaty makes fuller mention of them, and with the iſlands adjacent to the ſaid lands, countries and places before mentioned, together with thoſe other iſlands which we are now in the poſſeſſion of (that it to ſay, at the date of this article and of the peace). We, and our brother the king of France, have promiſed by faith and oath to each other to preſerve and keep this treaty and maintain the peace, and to do nothing againſt it; and we are

boun-

bounden, us and our ſaid brother the king of France, and our eldeſt ſons before mentioned, by obligation and promiſe and by faith and oath to each other pledged, to make certain renunciations one to the other according to the form and tenor of the aforeſaid article of peace.

Item, It is agreed, that the king of France and his eldeſt ſon the regent, for them and for their heirs for ever, ſhall as ſoon as poſſible, and without any double dealing, at the lateſt within the feaſt of St. Michael next enſuing, deliver up and give to the king of England, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and convey to them the honors, royalties, ſervices, homages, allegiances, vaſſalages, fiefs, obediences, acknowledgments, oaths, rights, ſeizures, and all manner of juriſdictions, both criminal and civil, appeals, ſecurities, lordſhips and ſovereignties which appertained, now appertain, or may hereafter appertain to the kings or to the crown of France, or to any other perſon on account of the king or for the aforeſaid crown of France, in whatever time it may have been, in the cities, towns, caſtles, fortreſſes, iſlands, countries and places before named, or in any one of them, their appurtenances and appendages, wherever they may be, whether held by princes, dukes, counts, viſcounts, archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots or other prelates of the church, barons, knights, nobles or others whomſoever, without reſerve to themſelves, their heirs and ſucceſſors, or to the crown of France, or to any other perſon whatever: nor ſhall they challenge or demand, at any future period, any thing of the above

from the king of England, his heirs or ſucceſſors, or from any one of his vaſſals or ſubjects aforeſaid, in any one of the places or countries before mentioned, in behalf of the king or crown of France. Thus, therefore, all the before named perſons, and their heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall be liege men and ſubjects of the king of England, his heirs and ſucceſſors for ever; and they ſhall hold and keep all perſons, cities, counties, lands, iſlands, caſtles and places before mentioned, with all their appurtenances and appendages, and ſhall remain fully and peaceably for ever in their lordſhip, ſovereignty, obedience, loyalty and ſubjection, as the preceding kings of France had and kept them in former times: and the aforeſaid king of England, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall and will maintain, peaceably and perpetually, all the countries before named in full freedom and liberty for ever, as ſovereign and liege lord, and neighbour to the king of France and ſaid kingdom of France, without acknowledging any ſovereignty or paying any obedience, homage, juriſdiction or ſubjection, and in time to come without doing any ſervice or acknowledgment to the king or crown of France for the cities, counties, caſtles, lands, territories, iſlands, places and perſons before named, or for any one of them.

Item, it is agreed, that the king of France and his eldeſt ſon ſhall expreſsly renounce the ſaid juriſdictions and ſovereignties, and all thoſe things which by this preſent treaty ought to belong to the king of England: and in like manner, the king of England and his eldeſt ſon ſhall renounce all thoſe things

things which by this preſent treaty are not to be granted to the king of England, and all thoſe claims he made on the king of France, and particularly the title, right and arms, and the challenge he made of the crown and kingdom of France; the homage, ſovereignty and domain of the duchy of Normandy, of the county of Touraine, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the ſovereignty and homage of the county and territory of Flanders, and all other claims which the king of England made at the time of the aforeſaid challenge, and might make in times to come upon the ſaid realm of France, through any reaſon whatever, except thoſe things which by the preſent treaty are granted to the king of England and his heirs: and they will convey, ſurrender and yield, one king to the other, in perpetuity, all the right which each has or may have on all thoſe things and places which by the preſent treaty are to remain or to be granted to each of them; and with regard to the time and place when theſe renunciations are to be made, the two kings will conſult each other, and order it when they ſhall be at Calais together.

And becauſe alſo our ſaid brother of France and his eldeſt ſon, in order to maintain and keep the ſaid articles of peace and agreement aforeſaid, have expreſsly renounced the juriſdictions and ſovereignties compriſed in the ſaid articles to all rights which they had or might have had on all the above mentioned things which our ſaid brother has granted, delivered and abandoned to us, and in thoſe other things which henceforward ought to appertain and belong

to us by the ſaid treaty of peace. We, among theſe ſaid things, renounce expreſsly all thoſe which are not to be granted to us, for ourſelves and our heirs, and all thoſe claims which we made or might make on our ſaid brother of France, and eſpecially to the title and right to the crown of France and the ſovereignty of that kingdom; and to the homage, ſovereignty and domain of the duchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou, Maine and Touraine; and to the ſovereignty and homage of the county and territory of Flanders; and all other claims which we made, or might have made, on our ſaid brother, for whatever cauſe there might be, ſave and except that which by this preſent treaty is to remain to us and our heirs: and we yield, abandon and give up to him, and he to us, mutually to each other, in the ſecureſt way we can, all the rights which each of us may have, or may have had in all thoſe things, which by the ſaid treaty are to be reſpectively granted to each of us; reſerving to the churches and to churchmen that which appertains or may appertain to them; and all that which has been occupied or detained of their property, on account of the wars, ſhall be made good and reſtored to them. The towns, fortreſſes, and all dwellings of the inhabitants, ſhall retain and enjoy ſuch liberties and franchiſes as before they came into our hands; and, if required, they ſhall be confirmed by our ſaid brother of France, if not contrary to what has been already agreed on.

And with regard to ourſelves, we ſubmit all things belonging to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, to the juriſ-

juriſdiction and coercion of the church of Rome, and are willing and deſirous that our holy father the pope ſhould confirm all theſe things by given monitions and gentle mandates for the accompliſhment of them againſt ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, our commonalty, colleges, univerſities, or any particular perſons whatſoever, and by giving general ſentences of excommunication, ſuſpenſion or interdict, which we may incur by ourſelves or by them, by this act, when we ſhall, either by ourſelves or others, infringe the peace, by taking or occupying any town or caſtle, city or fortreſs, or in any thing elſe, by giving advice, aid or aſſiſtance, public or private, againſt the ſaid peace: from which ſentences they cannot be abſolved until they ſhall have made full ſatisfaction to all thoſe who by this act ſhould have ſuſtained or might ſuſtain any damage. And with this we deſire and conſent, that by our holy father the pope (in order that the ſaid may more firmly be kept, maintained and obſerved for ever) all the agreements, confederations, alliances and conventions, under whatever name they may be, in caſe they become prejudicial or inimical to the ſaid peace in the preſent moment or hereafter (ſuppoſing they were cloſed under penalties and by oaths, and confirmed by our holy father the pope or others), ſhould be broken and annulled as contrary to the public welfare, to the good of the peace, unprofitable to all Chriſtendom and diſpleaſing to God: and that all oaths, in ſuch a caſe made, ſhall be reported to our holy father the pope, that it may be decreed by him that no one ſhould be bounden

to keep ſuch oaths or conventions; and if, in fact, any one attempted to act contrary, they ſhall from this moment be broken and annulled, and of no weight: nevertheleſs we ſhall puniſh ſuch by corporal puniſhment and confiſcations, as violators of the peace, if the caſe ſhould require it, or it ſhould appear reaſonable: and if we ſhould encourage or ſuffer any thing to be done hurtful to the peace (which God forbid), we are willing to be counted as liars and diſloyal, and alſo to ſuffer in this caſe ſuch blame and diſrepute, as a ſacred king ought to undergo for ſuch conduct: and we ſwear upon the body of JESUS CHRIST to conclude, maintain and keep the aforeſaid treaty, and neither by ourſelves nor others to depart from it for any cauſe or reaſon whatſoever. And in order that theſe premiſes may be concluded and maintained, we bind ourſelves, our heirs, our property, and the property of our heirs, over to our ſaid brother the king of France, and to his heirs, and ſwear by the holy Evangeliſts, bodily touched by us, that we will complete, conclude and preſerve (according to the articles aforeſaid) all the preceding conditions by us promiſed and agreed to, as is before mentioned. And we will, that in caſe our brother, or his deputies at the place and time, and in the manner before ſtated, do his duty, that from that time our preſent letters, and whatever is comprehended in them, ſhould have as much force, effect and vigour as any of our other letters ſhall have that have been promiſed and granted by us, as has been already ſaid; ſaving, however, and reſerving for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors,

ceſſors, that the letters above incorporated ſhall have no effect, nor be of any prejudice or damage until our ſaid brother and nephew ſhall have performed, ſent and given the above renunciations in the manner before ſpecified; and therefore they ſhall not avail themſelves of them againſt us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, in any manner but in the caſe above mentioned.

In teſtimony of which, we have cauſed our ſeal to be put to theſe preſent letters, given at Calais this twentieth day of October, in the year of grace and of our Lord one thouſand three hundred and ſixty.

When this private charter (which is called letter of renunciation, as well from one king as the other) was written, engroſſed and ſealed, it was read and publiſhed generally in the council chamber, when the two above named kings were preſent with their counſellors. It appeared to each to be handſome, good, well dictated and well ordered; and then again the two ſaid kings and their two ſaid eldeſt ſons, ſwore upon the holy Evangeliſts, bodily touched by them, and upon the ſacred body of Jesus Christ, to conclude, keep and maintain, and not to infringe any of the articles included in it.

Afterwards, by the advice and deliberation of the king of France and his council, and towards the end of the conference, the king of England was requeſted to make out and give a general commiſſion to all thoſe who for the time, and under ſhadow of the war, held towns, caſtles and forts in the kingdom of France, that they may have knowledge of what

what had paſſed, with orders to give them up and quit them. The king of England, who was ſincerely deſirous of maintaining a good underſtanding and peace between himſelf and the king of France his brother, as he had before ſworn and promiſed, readily acceded to this requeſt, which he thought reaſonable. He ordered his people to make it out in the cleareſt manner they could, to the ſatisfaction of the king of France and his council. The moſt able of the counſellors of the two kings aforeſaid united, and then was drawn up, written and engroſſed by the advice of each other, a commiſſion, the tenor of which is underneath.

Edward, by the grace of GOD, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all our captains, governors of towns and caſtles, adherents and allies, being in parts of France, as well in Picardy, in Burgundy, in Anjou, in Berry, in Normandy, in Brittany, in Auvergne, in Champagne, or Maine, in Touraine, and within the boundaries and limits of France, greeting. As peace and concord is now eſtabliſhed between us, our allies and adherents on the one part, and our dear brother the king of France, his allies and adherents on the other part, in regard to all quarrels or diſcords which we may have had in times paſt; and having ſworn upon the body of JESUS CHRIST, as well our dear eldeſt ſon and others our children, and thoſe of our blood, as likewiſe many prelates, barons and knights, and the principal men of our kingdom; and alſo our ſaid brother, and our nephew the duke of Normandy, and our other nephews his children, with many barons,

barons, knights and prelates of the ſaid kingdom of France, to maintain and firmly keep the peace: and as it may fall out or happen that ſome warriors from our kingdom, or other of our ſubjects, may endeavour to do or undertake things contrary to the ſaid peace by taking or detaining forts, towns, cities and caſtles, or in pillaging and arreſting perſons, and taking from them their goods, merchandiſe or other things, acting againſt the ſaid peace (the which will highly diſpleaſe us, and we cannot nor will not ſuffer it, nor paſs it over under any ſort of diſſembling). We, willing to remedy theſe aforeſaid things with all our power, wiſh, deſire and ordain, by the deliberation of our council, that none of our ſubjects or allies, whatever their ſtate or condition may be, do, or endeavour to do, any thing contrary to the ſaid peace, by pillaging, taking or detaining forts, perſons or goods of any ſort in the kingdom of France, or belonging to our ſaid brother, his ſubjects, allies or adherents whomſoever. And in caſe there ſhould be found any one that acts contrary to this ſaid peace, and who does not ceaſe from ſo doing, nor renders back the damages he may have committed within the ſpace of one month from the time he ſhall be required ſo to do by any of our officers, ſerjeants or public perſons, for this act alone, without other ſuit or condemnation, he ſhall be reputed baniſhed from our realm and from our protection, as well as from the kingdom and territories of our ſaid brother; all his goods confiſcated and ſubjected to our governance; and if he ſhould be found in our kingdom, we command and ex-

preſsly will, that puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on him, as a rebel and traitor to us, according to the cuſtomary puniſhment for leze majeſté, without any pardon, grace or remiſſion: and we will that the ſame be done to our ſubjects, of whatever condition they may be, who, in our kingdom on either ſide of the ſea, ſhall ſeize, occupy or detain any forts whatever contrary to the will of thoſe to whom they belong; or who ſhall burn or ranſom towns or perſons, and ſhall pillage or be guilty of robberies, or who ſhall ſtir up wars within our realm againſt our ſubjects.

We therefore order, command and expreſsly enjoin all our ſeneſchals, bailiffs, provoſts, captains of caſtles or others our officers, under pain of incurring our high diſpleaſure, and of loſing their offices, that they proclaim, or cauſe to be proclaimed, theſe preſents in the moſt public places of their diſtricts, bailiwicks, provoſtſhips and caſtlewicks; and that no one, after having ſeen and heard this proclamation, remain in any fort which belongs to the kingdom of France, except according to the tenor of the treaty of peace, under pain of being conſidered as an enemy to us and to our aforeſaid brother the king of France; and that they, in all the aforeſaid points, conform to, preſerve and make to be ſtrictly obſerved every particular. And be it known to all, that if they fail, or are negligent, in addition to the puniſhment aforeſaid, we will make them pay the loſſes to all thoſe who through their fault or neglect may have been aggrieved, or ſuffered any loſs; and with this we will puniſh them in ſuch a manner

that

that they ſhall be an example to all others: in teſtimony whereof, we have had theſe letters patent drawn up, given at Calais the 24th day of October, in the year of grace and of our Lord 1360.

CHAP. CCXI.

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE TWO KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, WHEN AT CALAIS, RESPECTING THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY AND SOME LANDS OF THE LATE GODFREY DE HARCOURT.—KING JOHN SETS OUT FROM CALAIS AND RETURNS HOME IN FREEDOM.

WHEN all theſe letters had been drawn up, and the different commiſſions delivered, which were mutually done by the advice and to the ſatisfaction of each other, there was ſome converſation reſpecting ſir Charles le Blois and ſir John de Montfort, and the ſtate of Brittany, for each of them claimed it as their right of inheritance: and though there was a conference holden, how theſe matters could be ſettled, nothing was definitively done; for, as I have ſince been informed, the king of England and his party had no great deſire of agreeing to it.

They preſumed, that henceforward all men at arms attached to them would be obliged to ſurrender every fort and ſtrong place which they at preſent held and poſſeſſed in the kingdom of France, and that they would retire to whatever parts they choſe: it was therefore much better, and more pro-

profitable that theſe warriors and pillagers ſhould retire into the duchy of Brittany, which is one of the richeſt and beſt foraging countries in the world, than that they ſhould come to England, which might be pillaged and robbed by them.

This conſideration made the Engliſh ſhortly break up the conference reſpecting Brittany. It was a pity, and ill done that it ſo happened; for, if the two kings had been in earneſt, peace would have been eſtabliſhed, by the advice of their counſellors, between the parties, and each would have held what ſhould have been given him. Sir Charles de Blois would have recovered his children, who were priſoners in England, and probably have lived longer than he did. As nothing was done at this conference, the wars in Normandy were more bitterly carried on than before the peace we have juſt ſpoken of (as you will hear in the continuance of this hiſtory), and even between the knights and barons of Brittany who had ſupported different intereſts.

The duke of Lancaſter (who was a valiant and diſcreet knight, full of devices, and who too ſtrongly loved the count de Montfort and his advancement) then addreſſed himſelf to the king of France, in the preſence of the king of England and the greater part of the counſellors; 'Sire, the truces of Brittany, which were made and agreed to before Rennes, will not expire before the firſt of the enſuing month of May: then, or within that time, the king our Lord will ſend, by the advice of his council, perſons from him, and from his ſon-in-law the young duke,

duke, ſir John de Montfort, to you in France, and they ſhall have power and authority to explain and declare thoſe rights the ſaid ſir John claims from the inheritance of his father in the duchy of Brittany, and accept them in ſuch manner as you, your counſellors and ours aſſembled together, ſhall ordain: for greater ſafety, it is proper the truces ſhould be prolonged until the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt next enſuing.' All this was agreed to, as the duke of Lancaſter had propoſed, and then the lords converſed on different matters.

King John, who had a great deſire to return to France (as was natural), teſtified moſt heartily to the king of England every proof of that affection which he had for him and for his nephew the prince of Wales: the king of England made an equal return: and, for a ſtronger confirmation of their friendſhip, the two kings (who by the articles called each other Brother), gave to four knights of each party eight thouſand francs, French money, of revenue; that is to ſay, two thouſand to each.

And becauſe the lands of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, in Coutantin, came to the king of England from ſir Godfrey de Harcourt by the ſale the ſaid ſir Godfrey had made of them to the king, as has been before related in this hiſtory, and that the ſaid lands were not included in the articles of peace, it was neceſſary for thoſe who ſhould hold the ſaid lands to do homage and ſervice to the king of France: the king of England, therefore, had reſerved and given it to ſir John Chandos, who had done him and his children many notable ſervices; and the king of France, through his great affection and love,

con-

firmed and ſealed it, at the intreaty of the king of England, to the ſaid ſir John Chandos, as his right and lawful inheritance. It is a very fair eſtate, and worth full ſixteen hundred francs of yearly rent.

In addition to theſe things, many other letters and alliances were made, of which I cannot relate the particulars; for, during the fifteen days or thereabouts, that the two kings, their children and their counſellors, were at Calais, there were every day conferences, and new ordinances made, ſtrengthening and confirming the peace; and, moreover, other deeds were drawn up, without annulling or changing the former ones; and they were all made to one date, as more ſure and certain, of which I have ſeen copies in the chanceries of the two kings.

When every thing relative to the peace had been ſo concluded and ſettled, that no one could think of any means to ſtrengthen or amend it, and that nothing could be deviſed to add to the ſtrong alliance between the two kings and their children, which bound them, and by which they had ſworn to maintain the peace from being infringed, which was indeed kept, as you will hereafter ſee in reading this book; and that thoſe who were to be the hoſtages for the redemption of the king of France were arrived at Calais, whom the king of England had ſworn to guard in peace in England, until the ſix hundred thouſand francs * were paid to the depu-

* This ſeems a miſtake; for in the fourteenth article of the peace of Bretigny in 1360, in Rymer, particular mention

deputies of the king of England, that king gave to the king of France a moſt magnificent and grand ſupper in the caſtle of Calais: it was well arranged; and the children of the king, and the duke of Lancaſter with the greateſt barons of England waited bare headed.

After this ſupper, the two noble kings took final leave of each other in a moſt gracious and affectionate manner, and the king of France returned to his hôtel.

On the morrow, which was the vigil of St. Simon and St. Jude, the king of France ſet out from Calais, with all thoſe of his party who were to accompany him*. The king of France went on foot,

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tion is made of the value of the crown, two of which ſhall be worth an Engliſh noble.

4th article.—'It is agreed that the king of France ſhall pay to the king of England three millions of *crowns of gold, two of which ſhall be of the value of an Engliſh noble*

'And there ſhall be paid to the ſaid king of England, or his deputies, ſix hundred thouſand crowns at Calais, in fourteenths from the time the king of France ſhall be at Calais.

'And within the next year enſuing, there ſhall be paid four hundred thouſand crowns of the above value, in the city of London.

'And from thenceforward, every following year, four hundred thouſand crowns, like to the above, ſhall be paid in the ſaid city, until ſuch time as the aforeſaid three millions ſhall be paid.'

According to Cotgrave, a noble in his time was worth fifteen ſhillings.

* Froiſſart ſeems to have been miſtaken as to the day king John left Calais, when he ſays it was the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, the 27th October; for in an ancient ſtate of Brittany, by Nicholas Vignier, page 383, there is a letter from king John, dated Boulogne ſur mer, October 26. 1360.

in pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne. The prince of Wales and his two brothers, Lionel and Edmund, accompanied him; and in this manner they arrived, before dinner, at Boulogne, where they were received with great joy. The duke of Normandy was there waiting for them, when all theſe aforeſaid lords went on foot to the church of our Lady of Boulogne, where they made their offerings moſt devoutly, and afterwards returned to the abbey at Boulogne, which had been prepared for the reception of the king of France and the princes of England.

They remained there that day, and on the following night returned to the king their father.

All theſe lords croſſed the ſea together, with the hoſtages from France: it was the vigil of All-Saints, in the year 1360.

It is proper that I ſhould name the nobles of France who went to England as hoſtages for the king of France. Firſt, ſir Philip, duke of Orleans, ſon of the late king Philip of France; his two nephews, the dukes of Anjou and Berry: after them the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, ſir John d'Eſtampes, Guy de Blois, for his brother the count Louis de Blois: the count de St. Pol, the count de Harcourt, the count dauphin of Auvergne; ſir Enguerrant, lord of Coucy; ſir John de Ligny; the count de Porcien, the count de Breme, the lord of Montmorency, the lord of Roye, the lord of Preaux, the lord d'Eſtouteville, the lord de Cleritez, the lord de St. Venant, the

lord

lord de la Tour d'Auvergne, and many others, but I cannot name them all *.

There were alſo from the good city of Paris, from Rouen, Rheims, Bourges in Berry, Tours in Touraine, Lyon upon the Rhône, Sens in Burgundy, Orleans, Troyes in Champagne, Amiens, Beauvais, Arras, Tournay, Caen in Normandy, St. Omer, L'Iſle, Douay, from each city two or four burgeſſes, who all croſſed the ſea, and ſhortly arrived in London †.

The king of England commanded all his officers, under pain of incurring his diſpleaſure, to behave courteouſly to all theſe lords and their attendants, and to preſerve peace between them and his ſubjects, as they were under his ſpecial care.

The king's orders were ſtrictly obeyed in every reſpect; and the hoſtages were allowed to enjoy themſelves, without any danger or moleſta-

* In the fifteenth article, in Rymer, they are mentioned as underneath:

Monſieur Louis, comte d'Anjou; M. Jean, comte de Poitiers; le duc d'Orleans; le duc de Bourbon; le comte de Blois, ou ſon frere; le comte d'Alençon, ou M. Pierre d'Alençon ſon frere; le comte de St. Pol, le comte de Harcourt; le comte de Portien; le comte de Valentinois; le comte de Breme; le comte de Vaudemont; le comte de Forez; le vicomte de Beaumont; le ſire de Couci; le ſire de Frenles; le ſire de Preaus; le ſire de St. Venant; le ſire de Gauntrines; le dauphin d'Auvergne; le ſire de Hangeſt; le ſire de Montmorency; monſire Guillaume de Craon; monſire Louis de Harcourt; monſire Jean de Ligny.

† Châlons, Chartres, Toulouſe, Compiegne, are mentioned, in addition to thoſe of Froiſſart, in the treaty in Rymer.

tion, in the city of London and its neighbourhood. The lords followed the chaſe or hawking, according to their pleaſure, and rode out as they pleaſed to viſit the ladies without any conſtraint, for the king was right courteous and amiable.

We will now ſpeak a little of the king of France on his arrival at Boulogne, after he had quitted Calais.

CHAP. CCXII.

COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED ON BOTH SIDES TO SEE THE GARRISONS IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE EVACUATED.—DIFFERENT BODIES OF ARMED MEN OVERRUN THE KINGDOM, AND DO MUCH MISCHIEF.

THE king of France did not remain long at Boulogne, but ſet out ſoon after All-ſaints, and went to Montreuil and Heſdin: he continued his journey until he came to Amiens; and wherever he paſſed he was moſt magnificently and honorably received. After he had remained at Amiens until Chriſtmas was paſſed, he ſet out for Paris, when he was ſolemnly and reverently met by all the clergy of Paris, and conducted to the palace*, where he diſ-

* Palace.—I believe the king of France's palace at that time was the hôtel de Neſle. I find, by Villaret's hiſtory, that he was lodged there after his coronation at Rheims.

This hôtel was built on the banks of the Seine, where the hôtel de Nevers was afterwards conſtructed, and nearly upon the

diſmounted, as did ſir Philip his ſon, and all the nobles who accompanied him. The dinner was grandly magnificent, and the tables well covered; but I can never tell how warmly the king of France was received on his return to his kingdom, by all ſorts of people, for he was much wiſhed for. They made him rich gifts and preſents, and the prelates and barons of the realm feaſted and entertained him, as became his condition; and the king gave them a moſt gracious reception.

Soon after king John was returned to France, the commiſſioners appointed by the king of England croſſed the ſea, to take poſſeſſion of the lands, countries, counties, bailiwicks, cities, towns and caſtles, that were to be given up to him, according to the articles of the peace. But this was not ſo ſoon accompliſhed; for many of the nobles in Languedoc at firſt abſolutely refuſed to obey them, or to ſurrender themſelves to the king of England, though the king of France had acquitted them of their fidelity and homage to him; for they thought it highly contrary and adverſe to their intereſts to be obliged to obey the Engliſh. The count de la Marche, the count de Perigord, the count de Comminges, the viſcount de Châtillon, the viſcount de Carmaing, the lord of Pincornet, in particular, with many

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the ſcite which the College Mazarine and the hôtel de Conti now occupy.

This hôtel muſt be diſtinguiſhed from another hôtel de Neſle, which was built at the ſame time. This ſecond hôtel de Neſle was ſituated on the ſpot where the hotel de Soiſſons was built, and which was demoliſhed 1747.

others in the diſtant countries wondered much that the king of France ſhould force them from his juriſdiction. Others ſaid, it was not in his power thus to free them; and it was not his right ſo to do; for, as they were Gaſcons, they had very old charters and privileges from the noble Charlemagne (who was king of France), which placed them under the juriſdiction of his court, and of no other. On which account, theſe lords would not at firſt yield obedience to the commiſſioners; but the king of France, who wiſhed to uphold and maintain what he had ſworn and ſealed, ſent thither his dear couſin ſir James de Bourbon, who appeaſed the greater part of theſe nobles; and thoſe who were bounden became liege men to the king of England; ſuch as the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret and many others, who at the intreaties of the king of France and of ſir James de Bourbon, obeyed, but very unwillingly.

On the other hand, it was very diſpleaſing to the barons, knights and inhabitants of the towns on the ſea-coaſt, and in the country of Poitou, the Rochellois and all Saintonge, that they ſhould be given up to the Engliſh: in particular thoſe in the town of la Rochelle would not conſent to it: they made frequent excuſes, and would not, for upwards of a year, ſuffer any Engliſhman to enter their town. The letters were very affecting which they wrote to the king of France, beſeeching him, by the love of God, that he would never liberate them from their fidelity, nor ſeparate them from his government and place them in the hands of ſtrangers; for they would

would prefer being taxed every year one half of what they were worth, rather than be in the hands of the Engliſh.

The king of France (who knew their good will and loyalty, and had frequently received their excuſes) felt great pity for them; he wrote, therefore, very affectionate letters, and ſent to inform them, that it was neceſſary they ſhould obey, or otherwiſe the peace would be infringed, which would be too prejudicial to the kingdom of France.

When the inhabitants of la Rochelle received theſe letters, and ſaw the ſituation they were in, that neither excuſes, prayers nor intreaties were of any avail, they obeyed; but it was ſore againſt their inclinations. The principal perſons of the town ſaid, 'We will honor and obey the Engliſh, but our hearts ſhall never change.'

Thus had the king of England ſeiſin and poſſeſſion of the duchy of Aquitaine, the counties of Poitou and Guignes, and of all thoſe lands which he was to have beyond ſea, that is to ſay in the kingdom of France, which were given to him by the articles of the peace. This year ſir John Chandos croſſed the ſea, as regent and lieutenant of the king of England, to take poſſeſſion of all the lands aforeſaid, and receive the faith, fidelity and homage of the counts, viſcounts, barons, knights, towns and caſtles: he inſtituted every where ſeneſchals, bailiffs and officers according to his will, and fixed his reſidence at Niort.

Sir John kept a noble and great eſtabliſhment; and he had the means of doing it; for the king of

England, who loved him much, wiſhed it ſhould be ſo. He was certainly worthy of it; for he was a ſweet tempered knight, courteous, benign, amiable, liberal, courageous, prudent and loyal in all affairs, and bore himſelf valiantly on every occaſion: there was none more beloved and eſteemed by the knights and ladies of his time.

Whilſt the commiſſioners and deputies of the king of England were taking ſeiſin and poſſeſſion of the aforeſaid lands, according to the articles of peace, other commiſſioners and deputies were on the frontiers of France with commiſſioners from that king, ordering all men at arms, who were garriſoned in the different caſtles and forts of France, to evacuate and ſurrender them to the king of France, under pain of confiſcation and death.

There were ſome knights and ſquires attached to England who obeyed, and ſurrendered, or made their companions ſurrender, ſuch forts as they held: but there were others who would not obey, ſaying that they made war in the name of the king of Navarre.

There were alſo ſome from different countries, who were great captains and pillagers, that would not, on any account, leave the country; ſuch as Germans, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, Gaſcons and bad Frenchmen, who had been impoveriſhed by the war: theſe perſons perſevered in their wickedneſs, and did afterwards much miſchief to the kingdom.

When the captains of the forts had handſomely delivered them up, with all they contained, they marched

marched off, and, when in the plain, they diſmiſſed their people: but thoſe who had been ſo long accuſtomed to pillage, knowing well that their return home would not be advantageous for them, but that they might perhaps ſuffer for the bad actions they had committed, aſſembled together, and choſe new leaders from the worſt diſpoſed among them. They then rode on, one party following the other, and made their firſt ſtand in Burgundy and Champagne, where they formed large ſquadrons and companies, which were called the Late-comers, becauſe as yet they had but little pillaged that part of the kingdom of France. They ſuddenly came before and took the fort of Joinville*, with great wealth in it, which the whole country round had brought thither, confiding in the ſtrength of the place. When theſe troops found ſuch riches as were valued at a hundred thouſand francs, they divided it amongſt them as far as it would go, and held the caſtle for a time, from whence they ſcoured all the country of Champagne, the biſhopricks of Verdun, Toul and Langres; but, when they had plundered ſufficiently, they departed, and ſold the caſtle of Joinville to the inhabitants of the country for one thouſand francs.

They then entered Burgundy, where they repoſed and refreſhed themſelves until they were all collected, and did many bad and villainous actions; for they had among them ſome knights and ſquires

* Joinville,—an ancient town in Champagne, on the Marne, dioceſe of Châlons.

of

of that country, who adviſed and conducted them. They remained ſome time in the neighbourhood of Beſançon, Dijon and Beaune, deſpoiling every where, for none went out to oppoſe them. They alſo took the good town of Guerchey * in the Beaunois, which they ſacked, and remained for a time near Vergy †, on account of the fertility of that country. Their numbers were perpetually increaſing; for thoſe who quitted the caſtles and towns on their being ſurrendered, and who were diſbanded by their captains, came into thoſe parts; ſo that by Lent they amounted to at leaſt ſixteen thouſand combatants.

When they found their numbers ſo great, they appointed many captains, whom all obeyed implicitly. I am able to name ſome of their greateſt leaders; and firſt a knight from Gaſcony, called ſir Seguin de Batefol, who had under his command two thouſand combatants. There were alſo Tallebert Tallabaton, Guy du Pin, Eſpiote, le petit Mechin, Battailler, Hannequin François, le Bourg de l'Eſpare, Nandoz de Bauguerant, le Bourgcamus, le Bourg de Breteuil, la Nuyt, le Scot, Arbrethouny, l'Allemant, Bourdonelle ‡, Bernard de la Salle, Robert Briquet, Carnelle, Aimenon d'Ortige, Garſiot du Châtel, Gironet du Paux, l'Ortingo de la Salle and many others.

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* A village in Champagne, near Joigny.

† Vergy,—a village of Burgundy, bailiwick of Nuits.

‡ Q. if this do not mean the Scot Aberthouny, and the German Bourdonnelle?

Theſe

Theſe leaders, about the middle of Lent, reſolved that they would advance with their forces towards Avignon, and pay a viſit to the pope and cardinals. They therefore traverſed the country of Burgundy and Maſcon, making for the rich and fertile country of Foretz, and for Lyon ſituate on the Rhône.

When the king of France was informed in what manner theſe free booting troops overran and pillaged his kingdom, he was mightily enraged. It was ſtated, by ſpecial orders of the council, to his majeſty, that unleſs theſe bands were repreſſed, they would multiply ſo much and do ſuch miſchief, to judge from what they had already done, that the kingdom of France would ſuffer equally as during the war with the Engliſh. The council, therefore, adviſed the king to ſend a ſufficient force to fight them.

The king, in conſequence, wrote eſpecial letters to his couſin the lord James de Bourbon *, (who was at that time in the town of Montpelier, and had

* Lord James de Bourbon. Count de la Marche received from king John, to whom he was always faithful, the county of Ponthieu and the dignity of conſtable. He was famous in three battles: firſt in that of Crecy, where he was wounded; next in that of Poitiers, when he was taken priſoner; and laſtly in that of Brignano, where he conquered. But ſoon after, a company of diſbanded ſoldiers ravaging Champagne and the Lyonnois, lord James was ſent againſt them, when, being overpowered by numbers, he and his ſon Peter were mortally wounded, and died three days afterwards at Lyon, 6th April 1382.—*Anderſon's Royal Genealogies.*

I ſuſpect, however there is ſome miſtake, and that Brignano means Brignais, when he was mortally wounded.

lately

lately put ſir John Chandos in full poſſeſſion of the cities, lands, towns and caſtles of the duchy of Guienne, as has been before mentioned,) ordering him to put himſelf at the head of the force that was to be ſent againſt theſe freebooters, and to take a ſufficient number of men at arms to give them combat.

When the lord James de Bourbon received theſe orders, he ſet off immediately for the city of Agen *, without ſtopping any where, and ſent off letters and meſſengers to the nobles, knights and ſquires, requiring, in the king's name, their inſtant attendance. Every one moſt willingly obeyed his orders, and followed him to the city of Lyon; for he was eager to fight with theſe wicked people.

The lord James of Bourbon was much beloved throughout the kingdom of France, and all moſt cheerfully obeyed his orders. Knights and ſquires, therefore, came to him from all quarters; from Auvergne, from Limouſin, Provence, Savoy and Dauphiné. On the other hand, many attended him from the duchy of Burgundy, whom the young duke of Burgundy had ſent to him.

This army began its march, making no halt at Lyon, but advanced into the county of Maſcon. The lord James entered the county of Foretz, which was dependant on his ſiſter in right of her children, for the count de Foretz was lately dead, and was governed by Reginald de Foretz, in the interim,

* Agen is a conſiderable city in Guienne, the capital of the Agenois, twenty-eight leagues from Toulouſe, and thirty-ſix from Bourdeaux.

who

who was brother to the late count. He received the lord James and his company with great joy, and feaſted them in the beſt manner he was able. The two nephews of the lord James de Bourbon were at home: he preſented them to him, who received them very graciouſly, and ordered them to be poſted near his perſon, that they might aid to defend their country.

The free companies were advancing towards this neighbourhood; for thoſe who were at Chalons * upon the Saone and near to Tournus †, and in that fertile country, having heard that the French were aſſembling an army to fight with them, their captains called a council, to determine what ſteps they ſhould take. They made a muſter of their troops, and found they amounted, one with another, to ſixteen thouſand combatants. They then reſolved to go and meet the French, who were ſo deſirous of it, and to offer them battle, in ſuch ſituations only as would be for their advantage, but upon no other terms. 'If fortune,' ſaid they, 'ſhould be favorable to us, we may all be rich, and at our eaſe for a long time, as well by the valuable priſoners we ſhall make, as from the fear we excite; for no more troops will be hardy enough to come againſt us: but, if we loſe the battle, we ſhall have hard blows for our pay.' This reſolution was adopted: they broke up their camp, and marched towards the mountains,

* Châlons,—an ancient town in Burgundy, twenty-nine leagues from Lyon.

† Tournus,—an ancient town of Burgundy, on the Saone, in the road from Lyon to Dijon.

in

in order to penetrate into the county of Foretz: they came to the river Loire, and, in their road, to a good town called Charlieu *, in the bailiwick of Maſcon, which they ſurrounded and attacked. They exerted themſelves to take it by aſſault, which employed them a whole day, but they could do nothing, for it was well defended and guarded by the gentlemen of the country, who had flung themſelves into the town; otherwiſe it would have been won.

They then marched off, and revenged themſelves on the eſtates of the lord of Beaujeu, which were near, and where they did very conſiderable miſchief, and entered the dioceſe of Lyon.

As they advanced, they took all the ſmaller forts, and lodged themſelves in them, and did much damage wherever they paſſed. They took a caſtle and a lord and lady in it; which caſtle was called Brignais †, and is ſituate on the Rhône, three leagues from Lyon. There they halted and took up their quarters, for they were informed that the French army was drawn out in the plain in order of battle.

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* Charlieu,—a town of the Lyonnois.

† Brignais,—In all my old editions, and in lord Berner's tranſlation, it is Brunay: but Denys Sauvage is certainly right to alter it to Brignais.

CHAP. CCXIII.

THE LORD JAMES DE BOURBON AND HIS ARMY ARE DEFEATED BY THESE FREEBOOTING COMPANIES. THE POPE ORDERS A CROISADE TO BE PROCLAIMED, AFTER THEY HAVE TAKEN THE PONT DU ST. ESPRIT, AND FINDS MEANS TO GET RID OF THEM.

THE men at arms, aſſembled under the lord James de Bourbon, were in the city of Lyon upon the Rhône, when they heard that theſe companies were approaching in great ſtrength, and had taken by aſſault the town and caſtle of Brignais, as well as ſeveral others, and were pillaging and ruining the whole country.

This was very unpleaſant news to the lord James, who had taken the management of the eſtates of the county of Foretz for his nephews, as well as to all the other chiefs. They immediately took the field, and were a numerous body of men at arms, knights and ſquires. They ſent out their ſcouts for intelligence reſpecting theſe companies, to know where they were, that they might find them.

I muſt now mention the grand trick which theſe free companies played. They were encamped upon a high mountain*, on the ſummit of which there

* A high mountain.—Denys Sauvage has written a long note to ſay, that he had viſited this ſpot in 1558, and that it ought not to be called a *high* mountain, for it was but a hillock. This Froiſſart himſelf allows in the following lines, where the ſcouts call it a 'tertre.' D. Sauvage ſays, the place correſponds to the deſcription, and that different weapons have been found in the adjoining grounds.

was a plain that could not be ſeen: in this place they had poſted the greater part of their army, and permitted the French ſcouts to come ſo near, they could have taken them if they had choſen it, but they were allowed to return unhurt.

They informed the lord James de Bourbon, the count d'Uſez, the lord Reginald de Foretz and thoſe lords who had ſent them, all they had obſerved and heard, adding, 'we have ſeen the companies drawn up in array upon a hillock, and, according to our underſtanding, well formed; but, having attentively conſidered them, they cannot be more than five or ſix thouſand men, and ſeem marvelouſly ill armed.'

When lord James de Bourbon heard this, he ſaid to the archprieſt, 'You told me they amounted to at leaſt ſixteen thouſand combatants, and you now hear the contrary.' 'My lord,' anſwered he, 'I ſtill think they are not leſs in number: if it ſhould be otherwiſe, we may thank God for it, and it is ſo much the better for us: you will therefore determine what you will do.' 'In the name of God,' ſaid the lord James, 'we will go and fight them.'

The lord James ordered all the banners and pennons to halt immediately, and formed his battalions in good order to begin the combat, for they ſaw their enemies before them. He then created many new knights: the firſt was his eldeſt ſon Peter, who diſplayed his banner; his nephew, the young count de Foretz, did the ſame; the lord of Tournon, the lord de Molinier, and the lord de Groſlée in Dauphiné. Among the nobility, there were ſir Louis and ſir Robert de Beaujeu, ſir

Louis

Louis de Châlons, ſir Hugh de Vienne, the count d'Uſez, and many other worthy knights and ſquires, eager to advance to the combat, both for their own honor and to deſtroy theſe freebooters, who were waſting the country without right or reaſon.

The archprieſt, whoſe name was Arnaut de Cervole, was ordered to take the command of the firſt battalion. He willingly obeyed; for he was an expert and hardy knight, and had under his command about ſixteen hundred combatants.

The freebooters, from their ſituation on the hill, ſaw but too clearly all theſe arrangements of the French, who could not ſee what they were about, nor approach them without danger and loſs; for there were at leaſt a thouſand cart loads of flints ready to be thrown againſt the firſt aſſailants by that body of men who appeared ſo ill armed to the ſcouts.

I muſt mention, that the only way theſe French men at arms, who were ſo deſirous to fight the companions at any rate, could approach them was to aſcend ſideways the hill on which they had placed themſelves. When they, therefore, attempted this, thoſe who were on the hill began to throw down on them the ſtones and flints, of which they had made ſo large a proviſion that they had only to ſtoop and pick them up; and, having full time to aim them well, they wounded and killed many, ſo that others were afraid to puſh forward. This advanced battalion was ſo ſeverely treated, it was not of any good uſe afterwards. The other battalions marched to its ſuccour, under the lord James

de Bourbon, his ſon and his nephews, with their banners, and many other reſpectable gentlemen, who ruſhed on to their own deſtruction, ſo that it was a pity they had not formed better plans, or liſtened to wiſer counſel.

The archprieſt and ſome other knights had truly ſaid, they were going to fight with theſe companions at a diſadvantage, with certain loſs, conſidering the ſituation they had choſen for themſelves. They adviſed waiting until they ſhould have been diſlodged from the ſtrong hold where they had poſted themſelves, that then they would have a better chance of ſucceſs, but they were never liſtened to.

Thus then, when the lord James de Bourbon and the other lords, with banners and pennons flying, approached and aſcended ſideways this hill, the weaker and leſs completely accoutred of the free-booters were enabled to haraſs them; for they flung upon them ſo rapidly and vigorouſly ſtones and flints, that the boldeſt and beſt armed were in dread of them.

When they had thus for ſome time kept them in check, their grand battalion, freſh and untouched, advanced by a ſecret road round the hill, and being in cloſe order like a bruſh, with their lances cut down to ſix feet or thereabouts, with loud cries and a thorough good will, fell upon the French army.

In this firſt attack, very many were unhorſed, and many gallant deeds performed; but the free-booters fought ſo hardily, it was marvellous to think of it, and the French army was forced to retreat. That good and valiant knight the archprieſt

fought excellently well; but he was ſo overpowered by numbers that, after being grievouſly wounded, he was made priſoner, as well as ſeveral knights and ſquires of his company.

Why ſhould I make a longer talk of this affair? in fact, the French had the worſe of the day: lord James de Bourbon and the lord Peter his ſon were very badly wounded: the young count de Foretz was ſlain: ſir Reginald de Foretz his uncle, the count d'Uſez, the lord Robert de Beaujeu, the lord Louis de Châlons, and upwards of one hundred knights were made priſoners. It was with great difficulty the lord James de Bourbon and his ſon the lord Peter were brought back to Lyon.

This battle of Brignais was fought on the Friday after Eaſter, in the year of our Lord 1361.

All the bordering countries were thrown into the greateſt confuſion, when they heard that the army had been diſcomfited; and there was no one ſo bold, who even had the ſtrongeſt caſtle, that did not tremble; for the wiſeſt among them immediately ſuppoſed the greateſt miſchiefs would enſue and multiply, if God did not directly bring ſome remedy.

The inhabitants of Lyon were confounded, when they firſt heard that victory had declared for theſe freebooting companies. They, however, received in the kindeſt manner all thoſe who returned from the battle, and were much hurt at what had befallen the lord James de Bourbon and his ſon the lord Peter. The ladies, both young and old, viſited them in the kindeſt manner; for they were much beloved in the city of Lyon. The lord James

departed this life the third day after the battle, and his ſon did not long ſurvive him. They were much pitied and regretted. The king of France was greatly affected at the death of the lord James de Bourbon; but, as it was not now to be amended, he was obliged to bear his mourning as well as he could.

We will now return to theſe freebooters, who, having reſolved to keep themſelves united, were rejoiced at the fortunate iſſue of this battle. They had been great gainers, as well by what they had ſeized on the ſpot as from the ranſoms of their wealthy priſoners. Theſe companies had the whole country under their diſpoſal, for no one now ventured to attack them.

Soon after the battle at Brignais, they entered and overſpread the county of Foretz, which they completely ſacked and ruined, except the fortreſſes; and becauſe they were in ſuch large bodies that no ſmall extent of country could maintain them, they divided themſelves into two parties: ſir Seguin de Baſtefol commanded the ſmalleſt, which, however, conſiſted of about three thouſand fighting men. He advanced towards Ance *, near to Lyon, where he fixed his quarters. He then ſtrongly fortified and rebuilt parts of it, and kept his troops in its neighbourhood, which is one of the richeſt countries in the world. He overran and ranſomed at his eaſe all

* Ance,—an ancient town of the Lyonnois, ſituated near the Saone, dioceſe and election of Lyon, about a league from Villefranche.

the

the countries above and below the Saone, ſuch as the county of Mâcon, the archbiſhoprick of Lyon, the territories of the lord of Beaujeu, and the whole country as far as Marſilly les Nonnains * and the county of Nevers.

The other diviſion of theſe free companies under the cammand of Nandoz de Baugerant, Eſpiote, Carnelle, Robert Briquet, Ortingo and Bernard de la Salle, Lannuyt, le Bourgcamus †, le bourg de Breteuil, le bourg de l'Eſparre, and many others of

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* Marſilly les Nonnains. I cannot find in the Gazetteer this name. There is Marcilly ſur Saone, a village in Burgundy, near Auxonne, which is, I ſuppoſe, the ſame.

† *Bourg*, in the dictionaries of the old French language ſeems to mean *baſtard* or *illegitimate*.

Burgi, in Du Cange's Gloſſary, is as follows, Calepino ex Tit. C. de fund. rei privatæ. 'Qui collegio, vel curiæ, vel burgis cæteriſque corporibus ſervierit. An inde, an non potius à burggravius per contractionem *Bourgs*, appellati ſunt caſtellani, et prefecti caſtrorum, per arciuma pud Froiſſartem,' tom. ii. cap. 34. 'Si etoient de ſa route les capitaines des autres chateaux, comme le *bourg* Calart, le *bourg* Anglois, le *bourg* de Champagne, et Raymond de Force,' &c.

Burgi, adde, 'A genuina vocis Gallicæ *bourg* notione longe aberrari mihi videtur, cum ex Froiſſarte exponitur de Caſtellano ſur burgi præfecto. *Bourg* enim eo loci, quemadmodum et in aliis ejuſdem ævi hiſtoricis, ſpurium, nothum ſonat, Gall. *bâtard:* quod apprime docet Berry in Hiſt. Chronol. Caroli VII. ad an. 1432, ubi quem *bourg* dicit, paulo infra appellat *baſtard:* ſic et ad an. 1430, *le bourg de Maſquaren. Bourc* in Litt. Remiſſ. an. 1411. ex reg. 165. Chartoph. reg. ch. 219. Icelui Pierre appellaſt le ſuppliant arlot, tacain, bourc; qui vaut autant à dire en languaige du Païs de par de la, garçon, truant, baſtart.

'*Bort*, eodem ſenſu uſurpant Hiſpani Vide in hac voce.'

the ſame ſort and with the ſame intentions, advanced towards Avignon, ſaying they would go and viſit the pope and the cardinals, in order to have ſome of their money; otherwiſe they ſhould be well vexed. They waited in that neighbourhood to receive the amount of the ranſoms for the priſoners taken at Brignais, as well as to ſee if the peace that had been made between the two kings was likely to be laſting.

In their route to Avignon, they took towns, caſtles and forts; for nothing could ſtand before them. The whole country was in an alarm; for in thoſe parts they had not had any war, and the guards did not know how to defend or keep their ſtrong holds againſt ſuch men at arms.

Theſe companions got information, that at the Pont du St. Eſprit *, ſeven leagues from Avignon, there was very great wealth; and that all the riches of the country thereabouts had been carried thither, as to a place of ſafety, truſting to the ſtrength of its caſtle. They therefore conſulted together, and agreed that if they could get poſſeſſion of this town

* Pont du St. Eſprit,—a town of lower Languedoc, on the Rhône, dioceſe and receipt of Uzes; ſo called from one of the moſt beautiful bridges in Europe built over the Rhône, in the road from Montpellier to Paris.

It is probable that the town of Pont St. Eſprit was taken twice; for a chronicle, written in the reign of king John aſſures us poſitively, 'que les compagnons qui etoient ſortis de la France, et qui ſe faiſoient appeler la grand compagnie,' took poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of St. Eſprit on Innocent's day 1360.—*Chronique, MSS. du Roi Jean, Bibliot. du Roi*, No. 9652.

of

of St. Eſprit, it would be of the greateſt advantage to them; for they would then be maſters of the Rhône as well as of Avignon.

After they had well digeſted their plan, Guyot du Pin and the little Mechin (as I have heard it related) mounted their horſes, and, with their companies, rode one whole night to the extent of fifteen leagues. They arrived, by break of day, at the town of St. Eſprit, which they took, and all thoſe of both ſexes which were therein. It was a pitiful ſight; for they murdered many a diſcreet man, and violated many a virgin. They gained immenſe riches, and proviſion ſufficient to laſt them a whole year.

They could from this town eſcape eaſily, in an hour's time and without danger, into the kingdom of France, and in another hour into the empire. They collected their companies together, and kept advancing towards Avignon, at which the pope and cardinals were much alarmed.

Theſe companions had choſen, at the Pont du St. Eſprit, a captain to command the whole of their forces, who was commonly ſtiled the friend* of God, and enemy of all the world.

There were at that time in France, beſides theſe companies, many other pillagers, Engliſh, Gaſcons

* Friend. Denys Sauvage ſays, in a note on the margin, that inſtead of *ami* it was *ennemi* in all the editions; but that he had corrected it from the two abridgements. He is certainly right as to the printed editions of Verard and Euſtace, as well as in lord Berner's tranſlation and Barnes's hiſtory of Edward III.; but it is *ami* in my two MSS.

and Germans, who were desirous of living there, and who maintained many garrisons in fortresses. Although the commissaries from the king of England had ordered them to evacuate these castles, and to leave the country, they had not obeyed, which was very displeasing to the king of France, as well as to his council.

But when many of them learnt (for they had possession of different places in France) that their brethren had overthrown the lord James de Bourbon with two thousand knights and squires, had taken a great many prisoners, and had very lately surprised and conquered the town of St. Esprit, where they had found immense riches, and that they had expectations of gaining Avignon, where they would have the pope and the cardinals at their mercy, as well as all Provence, each was eager to join them, in the hopes of gain and of doing more mischief. This was the reason why many warriors left their forts and castles, and advanced before their companions, expecting greater pillage.

When pope Innocent VI. and the Roman college saw themselves thus threatened by these accursed people, they were exceedingly alarmed, and ordered a croisade to be published against these wicked Christians, who were doing every thing in their power to destroy Christianity (like the Vandals * of old, without right or reason) by ruining all the

* Vandals. Denys Sauvage has *Bandes*, and says it is so in all the editions, but that he thinks it should be Vandals. It is *Vandes* in all my printed editions, as well as MSS.

coun-

countries whither they reſorted; by robbing wherever they could find any thing; by violating women, both young and old, without pity; and by killing men, women and children without mercy, who had done no ill to them; for he was reckoned the braveſt, and moſt honored, who could boaſt of the moſt villainous actions.

The pope and the cardinals had therefore a croiſade publicly preached. They abſolved from every crime and ſin all thoſe who ſhould take the croſs, and voluntarily give themſelves up to deſtroy theſe wretches. The cardinals elected the lord Peter de Monſtier, cardinal d'Arras, by ſome called cardinal d'Oſtia, to be the chief of this croiſade; who, upon his nomination, immediately left Avignon, and went to Carpentras, ſeven leagues diſtant, where he fixed his quarters. He retained all ſoldiers, and others, who were deſirous of ſaving their ſouls, and of gaining the foreſaid pardons: but he would not give them any pay, which cauſed many of them to depart and go into Lombardy; others returned to their own countries, and ſome joined theſe wicked companies, which were daily increaſing.

They divided themſelves into ſeveral companies, over each of which they nominated captains, and took up their quarters in different places. Thus they haraſſed the pope, the cardinals and the merchants in the neighbourhood of Avignon, and did a great deal of miſchief until the ſummer was far advanced of the year 1361.

It happened that the pope and cardinals caſt their eyes upon a very accompliſhed knight and good war-

warrior; that is to ſay, upon the marquis de Montferrat *, who, for a long time, had been engaged in war againſt the lords of Milan, and was at this time ſo employed. They ſent to him to come to Avignon, where he was received with much honor by the pope and cardinals.

A treaty was then entered into with him. He agreed, for a conſiderable ſum of money, to free the territories of the pope and the neighbourhood of thoſe freebooting companies, and to lead them with him into Lombardy.

The marquis negotiated, therefore, with the captains of theſe companies †, and managed ſo well that by means of ſixty thouſand florins which he divided among them, and the high pay he promiſed them, they conſented to follow him into Lombardy;

* The marquis de Montferrat. John Palælogus, 16th marckgrave of Montferrat, 1338, died 1371, reigned 33 years.—*Anderſon's Royal Genealogies.*

† Captains of theſe companies. Barnes ſays, that the principal leader was ſir John Hawkwood; but the following quotation from the life of ſir John Hawkwood, publiſhed in the 6th volume of the Bibliot. Typog. Britan. page 6, ſhews it was not ſo.

'The company of Engliſh adventurers who now entered into the ſervice of the marquis of Montferrat, 1363, is ſaid, by Muratori, vol. xii. p. 207, to have been commanded by one *Albaret*.

'Upon the concluſion of the peace between the marquis of Montferrat and Galeazzo, the few Engliſh who remained with the former, went and joined their countrymen in Tuſcany, and ſoon after formed one body under Hawkwood.'

There muſt be a miſtake reſpecting the date of 1363, for Froiſſart, as well as Denys Sauvage, fixes it poſitively 1361.

but

but they alſo inſiſted on receiving pardon and abſolution from all crimes and ſin.

Every article was fulfilled, and the money paid: they gave up the town of St. Eſprit, quitted the territory of Avignon, and marched away with the marquis of Montferrat.

King John and his whole kingdom were much rejoiced, when they found themſelves delivered from theſe people; but many of them returned back into Burgundy: ſir Seguin de Batefol, who kept his garriſon at Ance, would not ſurrender it for any treaty or promiſe they made him: however, France was, in many places, more at peace than it had been.

When the greater part of theſe companies had quitted the country, and had marched with the marquis de Montferrat into Piedmont, the marquis managed his affairs well againſt the lords of Milan. He conquered many towns, caſtles and forts, and gained much territory from them. He had alſo many ſkirmiſhes and attacks, which turned out to his profit as well as honor; and theſe companies, within the year, gave him a ſuperiority in the war, and were in a great meaſure the cauſe that the lords Galeas and Bernabo Viſconti *, who were ſovereigns

* In the year 1354, Matthew II., Bernabo and Galeas II., all three ſons of Stephen Viſconti, brother of John, ſucceeded their uncle in the ſtate of Milan, and divided it into equal portions, except Milan and Genoa, which the two laſt individually held. Matthew dying without male children, the 26th September 1355, his two brothers inherited his portion,

reigns of Milan, and who ſince reigned there in great proſperity, came to a proper underſtanding with him.

About this time ſir Seguin de Batefol, who had retained his garriſon at Ance upon the river Saone, took by ſcalade a good city in Auvergne, called Brioude, and which is ſituated on the river Allier. He maintained himſelf there for upwards of a year, and fortified it ſo ſtrongly that he was not afraid of an attack: from this place he overran all the country as far as Clermont *, Tilhac, Puy †, Caſe Dieu ‡, Montferrant §, Riom ‖, la Nonnette ¶, Uſſoire **, Oudalle ††, and the lands of the count Dauphin,

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portion, except Bologna, which they ſuffered Viſconti d'Olegio to carry from them. They obtained the ſame year, from the emperor Charles IV. the vicegerency of Lombardy. Their union defended them againſt a powerful league, formed by the Florentines, the marquiſes of Eſte, of Mantua and of Montferrat. In 1359, Galeas, aſſiſted by his brother Bernabo, made the conqueſt of Pavia, in the month of November, after a long ſiege. In 1371, Bernabo acquired, from Feltrin de Gonzague, the city of Reggio. Galeas died 1378, aged 59 years. Muratori gives a very bad character of him.

See more of the houſe of Viſconti, in l'Art de verifier les Dates, whence the above is taken.

* Clermont, or Clermont Ferrand,—capital of Auvergne.

† Puy,—a village in Auvergne, dioceſe of Clermont.

‡ Caſe Dieu, Q. an abbey, dioceſe of Auch.

§ Montferrant,—a town in Auvergne, near Clermont.

‖ Rion, Riom,—a city of Auvergne, near Clermont.

¶ La Nonnette,—a town of Auvergne, election of Iſſoire.

** Uſſoire, Uſſon,—a town of Auvergne, four leagues from Brioude.

†† Oudalle I cannot find, nor Tilhac.

who was at that time a hoſtage in England, and committed the greateſt damages.

When he had very much impoveriſhed the whole country, he marched away, according to an agreement, carrying off with him great riches. Sir Seguin de Batefol * returned into Gaſcony, whence he had originally come. Of this ſir Seguin I know no more, except that by accident I heard it related that he died in an extraordinary manner. God pardon him for all his miſdeeds!

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* Sir Seguin de Batefol. Mezeray calls him Simon Batefol.—Villaret calls him gentilhomme navarrois, and ſays that he died from ſome poiſoned oranges which Charles le mauvais, king of Navarre, had ſerved at dinner, in order to get rid of him. He was deſirous of engaging Sir Seguin de Batefol to make freſh diſturbances in France, contrary to the promiſe he had made king John, on ſurrendering Brioude: but he aſked too large a ſum; and, having poſſeſſion of Charles's ſecret, he thus poiſoned him that it might not be divulged.

Hiſtoire de France, par Villaret, tom. v. p. 258.

CHAP. CCXIV.

THE DEATHS OF THE DUKES OF LANCASTER AND OF BURGUNDY, WHICH LAST CAUSES NEW DISSENTIONS BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.—THE PRINCE OF WALES CROSSES THE SEA TO AQUITAINE.

AT this period died in England, the good duke of Lancaſter *, whoſe Chriſtian name was Henry. The king and all his barons, knights and ſquires were much afflicted, and wiſhed it had not been ſo. He left two daughters, the lady Maude and the lady Blanche. The eldeſt was married to the earl of Hainault of the name of William, ſon of the lord Lewis of Bavaria and Margaret of Hainault. The youngeſt was married to the lord John, earl of Richmond, ſon of the king of England, who was afterwards duke of Lancaſter, in right of his wife, and by the death of Henry duke of Lancaſter.

* 'Henry duke of Lancaſter, who died of the plague 1360, was buried on the ſouth ſide of the high altar of the collegiate church at Leiceſter, founded by his father (not by him, as in Dugdale), and on the next niche to him lay a lady, by likelihood his wife.'—*Gough's Sep. Mon.*

'He left iſſue by his wife Iſabel, daughter of Henry lord Beaumont, two daughters, his heireſſes. Maude firſt married to Ralph, ſon and heir to Ralph lord Stafford, and afterwards to William duke of Zealand; and Blanche (by virtue of a ſpecial diſpenſation from the pope, in regard to their near alliance) to John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, fourth ſon to Edward III. and afterwards duke of Lancaſter.' —*Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. 1. p. 789.

Maude came to England ſoon after her father's death, and died, ſuppoſed by poiſon.—KNYGHTON.

In

In this ſeaſon alſo died the young duke Philip of Burgundy *, earl of Burgundy, of Artois and of Boulogne, palatine of Brie and Champagne. He married the daughter of Louis earl of Flanders, by one of the daughters of John duke of Brabant, to whom fell the earldom of Burgundy, by the near relationſhip of Margaret his mother, who did homage and fealty for it to the king of France. The lord John of Boulogne, earl of Auvergne, came, by the ſame means, into poſſeſſion of the earldom of Boulogne, and was homager to the king of France. King John alſo, from his proximity, took poſſeſſion of and retained the duchy of Burgundy, and all rights over Champagne and Brie, which was highly diſpleaſing to the king of Navarre; but he could not help himſelf; for he claimed Champagne and Brie, as being the neareſt heir: his reaſons were not liſtened to, for king John hated him much, and declared that he ſhould never poſſeſs a foot of ground in Champagne nor in Brie.

* Philip duke of Burgundy ſucceeded to the earldoms of Boulogne and Auvergne at the age of fifteen, by the death of his mother, 29th September 1360. Towards the latter end of November 1361, he died at Rouvre, and was buried at Citeaux. He lived but a ſhort time, and was very much regretted, as he promiſed well. The duchy of Burgundy paſſed to the king of France, not by virtue of the law of appanages, but as being neareſt heir to duke Philip. The earldom of Burgundy, by the ſame right, paſſed to Margaret, who married Philip, fourth ſon of John king of France, who was created duke of Burgundy by letters patent, 6th Sept. 1363.

L'Art de verifier des Dates.

About

About this time, the king of France had formed a reſolution to go to Avignon, and viſit the pope and cardinals, and, in his road, to amuſe himſelf by inſpecting the duchy of Burgundy, which had lately fallen in to him.

The king, therefore, ordered preparations to be made, and ſet out from Paris about St. John's day 1362, having left his eldeſt ſon, Charles duke of Normandy, regent and governor of the kingdom during his abſence.

The king took with him the lord John of Artois, his couſin, whom he much loved; the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Dampmartin, Boucicault marſhal of France, ſir Arnold d'Andreghen, the grand prior of France and ſeveral others. He travelled ſlowly and with much expenſe, making ſome ſtay in all the cities and towns of Burgundy, ſo that he did not arrive at Villeneuve * until about Michaelmas. It was there that his hôtel was prepared, as well for himſelf as for his attendants. He was moſt magnificently received and feaſted by the pope and the college at Avignon: the king, pope and cardinals viſited each other often. The king remained at Villeneuve during the whole time †.

About

* Villeneuve d'Avignon,—a town of lower Languedoc, on the Rhône, oppoſite to Avignon.

† Villaret ſeems to think Froiſſart has made a miſtake reſpecting this viſit of the king, and that it was to prevent the marriage of Edmund earl of Cambridge, ſon of king Edward III. with the widow of the late duke of Burgundy, by means of the pope.

About Chriſtmas, pope Innocent VI. departed this life: and the cardinals were in great diſcord about the election of another, for each was deſirous of that honor; more particularly the cardinals of Boulogne and Perigord, who were the greateſt in the college. Their diſſentions kept the conclave a long time ſhut up. The conclave had ordered and arranged every thing according to the deſires of the two before mentioned cardinals, but in ſuch a manner that neither of them could ſucceed to the papacy: upon which they both agreed, that none of their brethren ſhould wear the papal crown, and elected the abbot de St. Victor * of Marſeilles, who was

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'Since his (the king's) return from London, he made only one journey to the court of Avignon, where he did not arrive until after the death of Innocent VI.' This opinion will not agree with what Froiſſart ſays of the entertainments and feaſts he received from the pope. John muſt have made two journeys, at a ſhort diſtance one from the other. The contrary, however, is proved by the letters of this king, preſerved in the fourth volume des Ordonnances. Froiſſart will have, without doubt, confounded this journey with the one made before his impriſonment.

Hiſt. de France, vol. v. p. 270, note.

In the Grands Chroniques de St. Denis, vol. ii. feuillet, 273. 'In the month of Auguſt 1362, the king of France ſet out to viſit the pope, Innocent, at Avignon, who was then alive, and that ſame year, the 22d December, he died.'

'King John entered Avignon St. Catherine's day, the 2ad November. Pope Urban received him very honorably in conſiſtory, and retained him to dinner.'

There muſt be ſome miſtake in theſe dates.

* Abbot de St. Victor. Urban V. William Grimoald, abbot de St. Germain d'Auxerre, then abbot of St. Victor

was a holy and learned man, of good morals, and who had laboured hard for the church in Lombardy and other places. The two cardinals ſent to inform him of his elevation, and to deſire he would come to Avignon; which he did as ſoon as poſſible, and received this gift with joy. He was called Urban V. and reigned with great proſperity: he augmented much the power of the church, and did great good to Rome and other parts.

Soon after this election, the king of France heard that the lord Peter de Luſignan, king of Cyprus and Jeruſalem, was on his road to Avignon, having croſſed the ſea: upon which he reſolved to wait for him, as he was anxious to ſee one of whom ſo many handſome things had been related, for having made war upon the Saracens. Lately, the new king of Cyprus had taken the ſtrong city of Satàlie * from the enemies of God, and had ſlain, without

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de Marſeille, was elected pope, 28th September 1362, at the age of 53 years; he died 19th December 1370.

* City of Satàlie,—is the Attalea of the ancients, ſituated in Pamphilia, a province which at this day makes part of Caramania.

Antalia, or Satàlie,—at the bottom of the gulph of Satàlie. *D'Anville's Map, Geographi Moderne.*

Peter de Luſignan had ſucceeded his father Hugh.

He did not arrive at Avignon until the 29th March 1362, the Wedneſday of the holy week.

Valdemar, king of Denmark, was there at the ſame time, who came to place his perſon and kingdom under the protection of the holy ſee.—*Villaret Hiſt. de France.*

Peter I. ſucceeded his father Hugh, as king of Cyprus, in 1361.

without any exceptions, all the inhabitants of both ſexes whom he had found there.

There was, during this winter, a full parliament holden in England, reſpecting regulations for the country, but more eſpecially to form eſtabliſhments for the king's ſons.

They conſidered that the prince of Wales kept a noble and grand ſtate, as he might well do; for he was valiant, powerful and rich, and had beſides a large inheritance in Aquitaine, where proviſions and every thing elſe abounded. They therefore remonſtrated with him, and told him from the king his father, that it would be proper for him to reſide in his duchy, which would furniſh him withal to keep as grand an eſtabliſhment as he pleaſed. The barons and knights of Aquitaine were alſo deſirous of his reſiding among them, and had before intreated the king to allow him ſo to do; for, although the lord John Chandos was very agreeable and kind to them, they ſtill loved better to have their own natural lord and ſovereign than any other.

The prince readily aſſented to this, and made every preparation becoming his own and his wife's rank *. When all was ready, they took leave of the

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January 18, 1372, he was aſſaſſinated by two lords whom he had abuſed.

He diſgraced the glories and fame of his early life by his debaucheries and cruelties in his latter days.—*Art de verifier les Dates.*

* His wife's rank. The prince of Wales married this year the lady Joan, daughter of Edmund Plantagenet earl

the king, the queen and their brothers, ſet ſail from England, and were landed, with their attendants, at la Rochelle.

But we will for a while leave this prince, and talk of ſome other regulations which were made at this time in England. It was enacted by the king and his council, that the lord Lionel, the king's ſecond ſon, and who had borne the title of earl of Ulſter, ſhould from thenceforward bear that of duke of Clarence; and the lord John, who was called earl of Richmond, was created duke of Lancaſter, which eſtate came to him by his wife, the lady Blanche, as heireſs to the good duke of Lancaſter, her father.

It was alſo taken into conſideration by the king and his council, that the lord Edmund, the king's youngeſt ſon, who was called earl of Cambridge, ſhould be well provided for, and, if it were poſſible, that he ſhould be united in marriage with the daughter of the earl of Flanders, at that time a widow.

However, that matter, though propoſed, was not fully entered upon; for it would be neceſſary to go cautiouſly to work about it; beſides, the lady herſelf was ſufficiently young.

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of Kent, commonly called the fair counteſs of Kent. She was a widow, and of the blood royal of England.

She was firſt married to the earl of Saliſbury, and divorced from him, then married to Sir Thomas Holland.—FABIAN.

About this time, the lady Iſabella of France, mother of the king, died. She was daughter of Philip the Fair. The king ordered a moſt magnificent and pompous funeral for her, at the Friar Minors *; at which all the prelates and barons of England, as well as the lords of France who were hoſtages for the performance of the articles of peace, attended.

This happened before the prince and princeſs of Wales left England; ſoon after which they ſet out, and arrived at la Rochelle, where they were received with great joy, and remained four whole days.

As ſoon as the lord John Chandos (who had governed the duchy of Aquitaine a conſiderable time) was informed that the prince was coming, he ſet out from Niort †, where he reſided, and came to la Rochelle with a handſome attendance of knights and ſquires, where they feaſted moſt handſomely the prince, princeſs and their ſuite.

The prince was conducted from thence, with great honor and rejoicings, to the city of Poitiers. The barons and knights of Poitou and Saintonge who at that time reſided there, came and did homage and fealty to him.

The prince rode from city to city, and from town to town, receiving every where due homage and fealty. He at laſt came to Bourdeaux, where he reſided a conſiderable time, and the princeſs with

* Friar Minors,—commonly called the Grey Friars, now a pariſh church called Chriſt Church.—GRAFTON.

† Niort, a city in Poitou, dioceſe of la Rochelle.

him. The earls, viſcounts, barons, knights and lords of Gaſcony came thither to pay their reſpects to him: all of whom he received in ſo gracious and pleaſing a manner, that every one was contented. Even the count de Foix came to viſit him, whom the prince and princeſs received moſt honorably, and treated him magnificently. A peace was at this time concluded between him and the count d'Armagnac, with whom there had been a continual warfare for a very conſiderable time.

The lord John Chandos was ſoon after appointed conſtable of all Guienne, and ſir Guiſcard d'Angle marſhal. The prince thus provided for the knights of his own country and his houſehold, particularly thoſe he loved moſt, with theſe noble and handſome offices, which were at his diſpoſal in the duchy of Aquitaine. He nominated to all his ſtewartries and bailiwicks knights from England, who kept up greater ſtate and magnificence than the inhabitants of the country could have wiſhed: but things did not go according to their deſires. We will now leave the prince and princeſs of Wales, to ſpeak of king John of France, who at this time was at Villeneuve d'Avignon.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCXV.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF CYPRUS UNDERTAKE AND SWEAR TO PERFORM A CROISADE AGAINST THE INFIDELS.—THE KING OF CYPRUS MAKES EARNEST SOLICITATIONS FOR ASSISTANCE TO MANY KINGS AND PRINCES IN DIVERS PLACES OF CHRISTENDOM.

ABOUT Candlemas * 1362, the king of Cyprus came to Avignon: at which event the whole court was much rejoiced, and many cardinals went out to meet him, and to conduct him to the palace of pope Urban, who received him very graciously, as did the king of France, who was present. When they had remained together some time, and had had wine and spices served to them, the two kings took leave of the pope, and each went to his hôtel.

During this time, there was a public combat before the king of France, at Villeneuve, from pledges given and received, between two valiant and noble knights, whose names were sir Aymon de Pommiers and sir Foulques d'Archiac. When they had

* Candlemas. Denys Sauvage says, in a note on the margin, that Froissart forgets in this place to begin the year the 1st of January.

' By an edict given by Charles IX. at Roussillon-Château in Dauphiné 1564, he fixed the beginning of the year 1565 at the first of January; whereas formerly the year commenced at Easter. It appears to me that its commencement ought to be the 21st December, or rather the 21st of March.' *Essais Historiques sur Paris*, tome iii. p. 328.

fought well and valorouſly for a length of time, the king of France appeaſed them, and made up their quarrel.

The two kings remained the whole Lent at Avignon, or thereabout. They often viſited the pope, who received them with joy. During theſe frequent viſits, the king of Cyprus remonſtrated with the pope, the king of France and the cardinals preſent, how noble and praiſe-worthy a thing it would be for Chriſtendom, to open a holy paſſage beyond ſea, and to fall upon the enemies of the true faith. The king of France liſtened eagerly to this diſcourſe, and propoſed that for himſelf he would willingly undertake ſuch an enterpriſe, if he ſhould live three years only, for two reaſons: one was, that king Philip his father had formerly made a vow to do the ſame; the other was to draw out of his kingdom all thoſe men at arms, called free companions, who pillaged and robbed his ſubjects without any ſhadow of right, and to ſave their ſouls. Theſe reaſons, however, the king of France kept to himſelf, without mentioning them to any one, until holy Friday, when the pope preached in his chapel before the kings of France and Cyprus, and the college of cardinals.

After the ſermon, which was very humble and devout, the king of France, through his great devotion, put on the croſs, and requeſted the pope, with great ſweetneſs, to confirm it to him. The pope immediately and benignantly complied with his requeſt, and croſſed in like manner the lord Taleyrand cardinal de Perigord, the lord John d'Artois,

d'Artois, the earl of Eu, the earl of Dampmartin, the earl of Tancarville, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, the grand prior of France, the lord Boucicaut and many knights there preſent. The king of Cyprus was highly pleaſed, and returned fervent thanks to the Lord for having inſpired their hearts.

Thus, as you have heard, the king of France and thoſe barons and knights that were with him, put the vermilion croſs upon their outward robes. The holy father gave it his benediction, and ordered it to be preached in many places: not, however, throughout all Chriſtendom, for a reaſon I will give. The king of Cyprus (who had come thither with the intention of forming this croiſade, having promiſed himſelf much pleaſure in viſiting the emperor and all the great barons of the empire, the king of England and the chief princes of Chriſtendom, which he did, as this hiſtory hereafter will ſhew you,) offered to the holy father and to the king of France his perſonal ſervices, his wealth and his eloquence, wherever he ſhould arrive or make any ſtay, in remonſtrating and arguing the grace and devotion of this expedition, in order to excite all thoſe princes and lords to join in it who before had not had much religion.

This ſaid king was ſo much honored, as it was but juſt he ſhould be, that, from the eloquence and warmth with which he would diſplay the value of this expedition to the different princes, he would gain more hearts than all the preachments. The

pope

pope assented to this proposal, which was then resolved on.

Soon after Easter 1363, the king of Cyprus left Avignon, saying he was going to visit the emperor and the lords of the empire, and then return by Brabant, Flanders and Hainault, to the kingdom of France.

He took leave of the pope and king of France, who on every occasion shewed him marked attentions: the pope gave to him and to his attendants presents of jewels, and benedictions.

Soon after the departure of the king of Cyprus, the king of France took leave of the pope, and went towards the city of Montpellier, in order to visit Languedoc, where he had not been for a long time.

We will now return to the king of Cyprus, and to the journey which he made. After many days travel in Germany, he came to a city called Prague, and found there the emperor of Germany, the lord Charles of Bohemia *, who received him magnificently, as did all the lords of the empire who were with him.

The king of Cyprus remained in Prague and in its environs three weeks, and greatly exerted himself in exhorting all the Germans to assist in this holy expedition. The emperor defrayed his expenses

* Lord Charles of Bohemia,—Charles IV. emperor of Germany. He published the famous Golden Bull, that has ever since regulated all the elections of emperors in Germany.

during

during the ſtay he made, and for his journies in Germany. The king of Cyprus went next to the duchy of Juliers, where the duke received him with much feaſting and rejoicings. From the duchy he went to Brabant, where the duke and ducheſs received him magnificently in the good town of Bruſſels. He was there entertained with grand dinners, ſuppers, tournaments and other ſports, in which he knew well how to play his part; and, at his departure, they made him many preſents of rich jewels.

When he left Bruſſels, he went to Flanders, to viſit earl Lewis, who received and feaſted him grandly. He found at Bruges the king of Denmark, who had come thither to ſee him. They were magnificently treated at Bruges; inſomuch that the two kings were very well pleaſed with earl Lewis, and with the knights and barons of his country.

The king of Cyprus thus paſſed his ſummer, ſince he had left Avignon, in his journey through the empire and along its frontiers, exhorting all to undertake this expedition againſt the Saracens.—This gave much pleaſure to many of the great lords, who were deſirous that it ſhould be accompliſhed; but many others excuſed themſelves from taking part in it.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCXVI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND DETAINS THE HOSTAGES AS PRISONERS.—THE KING OF CYPRUS USES GREAT INTREATIES WITH THE KINGS OF NAVARRE AND ENGLAND AND THE PRINCE OF WALES, TO INDUCE THEM TO UNDERTAKE THIS CROISADE AGAINST THE SARACENS.

ABOUT this time, the king of England ſhewed much favor to four dukes, viz. the duke of Orleans, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Berry and the duke of Bourbon. Theſe lords had returned to Calais, whence they had liberty to make excurſions whither they choſe for three days; but they were to return on the fourth day by ſun-ſet. The king had granted this favor with the good intent of their being nearer to make ſolicitations to their friends, and that they might haſten their ranſoms which they were eager to do.

During the time the four above-mentioned lords were at Calais, they ſent many and preſſing meſſages to the king of France, and to the duke of Normandy his eldeſt ſon, who had nominated them as hoſtages, to remonſtrate with them on the ſubject of their ranſoms, which they had ſworn and promiſed to attend to at the time they went to England, otherwiſe they would have undertaken it themſelves, threatening no longer to conſider themſelves as priſoners.

But although theſe lords were, as you know, very near relations to the king of France, their ſolicitors and meſſengers were not liſtened to, nor themſelves ran-

ranſomed, which was very diſpleaſing to them, more particularly to the duke of Anjou, who declared he would himſelf find a remedy, happen what would.

At this moment, the kingdom and the councils of the king and duke of Normandy were hardly preſſed, as well on account of the croiſade which the king had undertaken, as for the war with the king of Navarre, who was haraſſing the realm of France, and who had recalled ſome of the captains and companies from Lombardy, in order the better to carry on his deſigns. This was the principal reaſon why they could not immediately attend to the ranſoms of the four dukes, nor give ſatisfactory anſwers by their meſſengers, when they came to France.

We will now return to the king of Cyprus. When he had viſited the empire and other countries, as you have heard, he returned to France, where he was magnificently received by the king and the great lords of his court. Several councils were held on the ſubject of this croiſade, to diſcover in what manner it could turn out to the honor of the king of France or to the good of his realm. The wiſeſt were of opinion, that ſeeing the kingdom ſo much haraſſed, robbed and ruined, by the companies and thieves that invaded it from all parts, this expedition ought not to take place until the kingdom were in a better ſtate, or till peace were made with the king of Navarre. However, notwithſtanding the good ſenſe of this advice, the king would not liſten to it, nor allow his ardour for this croiſade to be cooled. He confirmed his engagement to the king of Cyprus, and promiſed to be at

Marſeilles in March the enſuing year (which would be 1364), and that then he would without delay croſs the ſea, and order purveyances to all who were willing to do the ſame.

Upon this, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the king of France, finding that he had ſufficient time to return to his own country and make his preparations. He conſidered with himſelf, if he ſhould not do well to pay a viſit to his couſin the king of Navarre, and endeavour, if poſſible, to make a peace between him and the king of France.

He therefore ſet out from Paris with a grand equipage, and took the road to Rouen; where, when he was arrived, he was moſt handſomely received by his couſin the lord John d'Alençon, archbiſhop of Rouen, who entertained him very agreeably for three days. On the fourth he departed, taking the road to Caen, and continued his route to Cherbourg, where he found the king of Navarre, the lord Louis* his brother, and a very ſmall company with them.

Theſe two lords of Navarre received the king of Cyprus graciouſly and honorably, feaſted him grandly, as they had the means, and knew well how to uſe them. Whilſt he was there, he endeavoured to begin a treaty between them and the king of France, and talked to them frequently and eloquently upon this ſubject; for he was a man of

* Lord Louis. Charles had two brothers, Philip and Lewis; but which is here meant, I know not. Denys Sauvage ſays it was Philip, my MSS. Louis.

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excellent underſtanding, maſter of many languages, and much beloved. The two brothers made very handſome replies to him, but excuſed themſelves by ſaying, it was not their fault if they were not good friends with the king and realm of France; for their great deſire was to be ſo, but the king muſt give back their inheritance which he held from them wrongfully. The king of Cyprus would willingly have brought this buſineſs to a concluſion, for the king of Navarre would have left it to him, had not their differences been too great.

When the king of Cyprus had remained at Cherbourg about fifteen days, having been entertained by the king of Navarre and his brother ſuitably to his rank, he took leave of them, ſaying he ſhould not reſt until he had been in England, and exhorted king Edward and his children to put on the croſs. He departed from Cherbourg, and arrived at Caen; thence he croſſed the Seine at Pont de l'Arche *, and entered Ponthieu; having paſſed the Somme at Abbeville †, he came to Rue ‡, to Montreuil §, and to Calais, where he found the three dukes of Orleans, Berry and Bourbon: for the duke of Anjou had returned to France, but by what means or in what condition I know not ‖.

Theſe

* Pont de l'Arche,—a town of Normandy, on the Seine, dioceſe of Evreux.

† Abbeville,—a conſiderable town in Lower Picardy, dioceſe of Amiens.

‡ Rue,—a ſmall town in Picardy.

§ Montreuil,—a town in Picardy, dioceſe of Amiens.

‖ See Rymer, anno 1363, for different letters from king John whilſt at Avignon; and other matters reſpecting the ran-

Theſe three dukes, priſoners, though they were in the town of Calais, received the king of Cyprus very joyfully, and the king behaved with equal politeneſs to them. They continued together for twelve days. When the king of Cyprus had a favorable wind, he croſſed the Straits, and arrived at Dover. He remained there two days to recover himſelf, whilſt they unloaded his veſſel and diſembarked his horſes. The king then continued his route by eaſy day-journeys, until he arrived at the good city of London.

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ranſoms of theſe princes of the blood. It appears that they were all promiſed their freedom on poſſeſſion being given to the officers named by king Edward of certain lands and caſtles belonging to each of them, dated at Weſtminſter, 26th May 1363.

The duke of Anjou and other hoſtages broke their parole and eſcaped. In the Fœdera 1364, there are various remonſtrances made by Edward on this ſubject.

Stow ſays, in his Chronicle, that the duke of Anjou, by breaking his word and oath to return to England as one of the hoſtages for king John, and thus deceiving him, was the cauſe of his majeſty's death, through grief.

Carte ſays, 'Their negotiations not ſucceeding, the duke of Anjou made uſe of that indulgence to eſcape into France: the king, his father, blamed him exceedingly, and, to repair his ſon's fault, reſolved to go himſelf to England, and, by a perſonal treaty with Edward, remove the obſtructions which had hitherto prevented the full execution of the treaty of Bretigny. His miniſters tried, in vain, to diſſuade him from this reſolution; for he told them, that though good faith were baniſhed out of the reſt of the world, it ought ſtill to be found in the words of princes, and as the performance of the articles of that treaty was the condition of his, he would at any rate ſee them executed.'

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He was honorably received on his arrival, as well by the barons of France who were there as hoſtages, as by the Engliſh lords, who had rode out to meet him; for king Edward had ordered ſome of his knights, viz. the earl of Hereford*, ſir Walter Manny, the lord Deſpencer†, the lord Ralph de Ferrers‡, ſir Richard Pembridge§, ſir Richard Stafford‖ and others, to meet him, who accompanied and conducted him to the lodgings which were prepared for him in the city of London.

It would take me a day were I to attempt relating to you the grand dinners, ſuppers, and other feaſts and entertainments that were made, and the magnificent preſents, gifts and jewels which were given,

* The earl of Hereford,—ſon of William Bohun, earl of Northampton, ſucceeded to the title and eſtates of Hereford, on the death of his uncle Humphry de Bohun, in 1361. He was afterwards nominated ambaſſador to the duke of Milan, reſpecting the marriage of his daughter Violante to the duke of Clarence, and died ſhortly after.

† Lord Deſpencer,—grandſon of Edward that was executed at Hereford. He enjoyed much favor under Edward III. and was buried at Tewkeſbury.

‡ Lord Ralph de Ferrers. I cannot find in Dugdale's Baronage any of this family that bore the name of Ralph. There is Rauf de Ferriers, banneret, in Aſhmole, which I ſuppoſe muſt be the ſame.

§ Sir Richard Pembridge—was fifty-third knight of the garter. He died 1375, and his tomb is in Hereford cathedral. The only account I can find of him is in Mr. Gough's firſt volume of Sepulchral Monuments, to which I refer.

‖ Sir Richard Stafford—was ſon to ſir Richard Stafford, brother to Ralph earl of Stafford. He ſerved in Edward III.'s wars in Gaſcony, and was ſummoned to parliament among the barons, from 44th Edward III. until 4th Richard II. inclusive.

 eſpecially

eſpecially by queen Philippa, to the accompliſhed king of Cyprus. In truth, he was deſerving of them, for he had come a long way, and at a great expenſe, to viſit them, to exhort the king to put on the red croſs, and aſſiſt in regaining countries now occupied by the enemies of God. But the king of England politely and wiſely excuſed himſelf, by ſaying; 'Certainly, my good couſin, I have every inclination to undertake this expedition; but I am growing too old, and ſhall leave it to my children. I make no doubt, that when it ſhall have been begun, you will not be alone, but will be followed moſt willingly by my knights and ſquires.' 'Sir,' replied the king of Cyprus, 'what you ſay ſatisfies me. I verily believe they will come, in order to ſerve God, and do good to themſelves; but you muſt grant them permiſſion ſo to do; for the knights of your country are eager in ſuch expeditions.' 'Yes,' anſwered the king of England; 'I will never oppoſe ſuch a work, unleſs ſome things ſhould happen to me or to my kingdom which I do not at this moment foreſee.'

The king of Cyprus could never obtain any thing more from king Edward, in reſpect to this croiſade; but, as long as he remained, he was politely and honorably feaſted with a variety of grand ſuppers.

About this time king David * of Scotland had ſome affairs to tranſact with king Edward that made it

* King David. It appears by Rymer, from the paſſport granted him by king Edward, the 20th February 1364, that David

it neceſſary for him to come to England; ſo that when he heard the king of Cyprus was there he haſtened his journey, in order to meet him, and made ſuch diſpatch that he arrived in London before he had left it.

The two kings were much rejoiced to meet, and congratulated each other upon it. The king of England gave them two grand entertainments in his palace of Weſtminſter. At the laſt of theſe, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the king and queen of England, who made him very magnificent preſents: king Edward gave him alſo a ſhip called the Catharine, which was very beautiful and well built. The king of England had had her conſtructed, by his orders, to make the voyage to Jeruſalem. She was valued at twelve thouſand francs, and lay in the harbour of Sandwich.

The king of Cyprus was much pleaſed with this gift, and returned many thanks for it. He made no long ſtay after this in England, but returned to the king of France. The king of England, however, defrayed all his and his attendants' expenſes during the time he remained, as well as the coſt of his journeys in coming and returning. I do not know how it was, nor for what reaſon, but he left the ſhip

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David Bruce's journey into England was to pay his devotions at the ſhrine of our Lady at Walſingham. The ſame religious motives might have made him ſo eager to converſe with the king of Cyprus on the ſubject of the croiſade.—His paſſport was to continue in force until the enſuing Michaelmas.

His new queen, Margaret Logie, had at the ſame time a paſſport, to pay her devotions at the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury.

in the harbour of Sandwich; for, two years afte wards, I ſaw it there at anchor.

The king of Cyprus left England *, and croſſe the ſea to Boulogne. Having learnt on the roa that the king of France, the duke of Normand the lord Philip, youngeſt ſon to king John, and tl

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* Barnes, in his hiſtory of Edward III. ſays, that the ki of Denmark and the duke of Bavaria accompanied him England, and that their paſſports were dated 6th Decemb In Rymer, there is a paſſport for Waldemar king Denmark, dated the 1ſt of February 1364, to continue to t enſuing Michaelmas, for himſelf and three hundred hor men, &c., but not one word is ſaid of the king of Cypr nor of the duke of Bavaria.

'Anno reg. 31. 1357.—Henry Picard, vintner mayor London, in one day did ſumptuouſly feaſt Edward king England, John king of France, the king of Cyprus (th newly arrived in England), David king of Scots, Edwa prince of Wales, with many noblemen and others: and aft the ſaid Henry Picard kept his hall againſt all comers wh ſoever that were willing to play at dice and hazard.

'In like manner, the lady Margaret, his wife did a keep her chamber to the ſame intent.

'The king of Cyprus playing with Henry Picard in l hall, did win of him fifty marks; but Henry being ve ſkilful in that art, altering his hand, did after win of the ſa king the ſame fifty marks and fifty marks more; whi when the ſaid king began to take in ill part, although diſſembled the ſame, Henry ſaid unto him, 'My lord a king, be not aggrieved: I covet not your gold, but yo play; for I have not bid you hither that I might grieve yo but that amongſt other things I might try your play and gave him his money again, plentifully beſtowi his own amongſt the retinue. Beſides, he gave many ri gifts to the king and other nobles and knights who din with him, to the great glory of the citizens of London thoſe days.'—*Stowe's Chronicle.*

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council of ſtate, were to be in the good town of Amiens, the king of Cyprus took that road, and found the king of France juſt arrived, with part of his council. He was kindly received by them, and related to them the greater part of his travels, which they liſtened to with pleaſure.

When he had been there ſome time, he ſaid that as yet he had done but little, until he ſhould have ſeen the prince of Wales; and that, if it pleaſed God, he would go viſit him, as well as the barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, before he returned home.

The king of France made no objection to this, but earneſtly entreated that, when he ſet out on his return home, he would take his departure from France, to which the king of Cyprus readily aſſented. He therefore left Amiens, taking the road to Beauvais, paſſed the Seine at Pontoiſe, and continued his route to Poitiers.

At this time, the prince was at Angoulême, where there were ſhortly to be grand entertainments and juſts by forty knights and as many ſquires, in honor of the princeſs, who had lately been brought to bed of a handſome ſon, called Edward *, after his father.

As ſoon as the prince was informed of the arrival of the king of Cyprus at Poitiers, he ſent, by ſpecial command, ſir John Chandos, attended by many knights and ſquires of his houſehold, to meet him.

* 'By her (the princeſs) he had two ſons, namely Edward the eldeſt, born at Angoulême in February 1365 (Leland ſaith 1364), who died in Gaſcoigne at ſeven years of age,'—and Richard, who was afterwards king of England. —*Aſhmole's Garter*, p. 676.

They accompanied him, with great joy and reſpect, to the prince, who received him moſt kindly and honorably.

We will now leave the king of Cyprus for a while, and return to the king of France, to relate what were the reaſons why he and his council had come to Amiens.

CHAP. CCXVII.

KING JOHN RETURNS, OF HIS OWN FREE WILL, TO ENGLAND, AND DIES THERE.

I WAS informed, and indeed truly, that king John had a wiſh to go to England, to viſit his brother king Edward and the queen his ſiſter, and for this effect had ſummoned part of his council.—They could not make him change his mind, though they gave freely their opinions on the ſubject; and many of the prelates and barons of France told him, he would do a very fooliſh thing, if he again put himſelf in the power of the king of England.

But the king anſwered, that he had found ſo much loyalty and honor in his brother the king of England, the queen, and his nephews their children, that he could not ſufficiently praiſe them: he did not in the leaſt doubt but that they would be courteous, polite and loyal, and friends to him in all ſituations. He was alſo anxious to go to England, in order to make excuſes for his ſon, the duke of Anjou, who had returned to France. On hearing this, not one of the council had a word more

more to ſay, ſince his majeſty had thus ordered and ſettled it.

He again appointed his ſon, the duke of Normandy, regent of France, during his abſence. He promiſed his youngeſt ſon, the lord Philip, that on his return from the journey he was about to make *, he would create him duke of Burgundy, and that he ſhould inherit the lands of that duchy.

When all things were prepared according to his orders, and his purveyances ſent to Boulogne, he departed from the city of Amiens, and, having begun his journey, continued it until he came to Heſdin, where he remained to paſs his Chriſtmas.—The earl Louis of Flanders, who was much attached to him, came there to viſit his majeſty; and they continued together about three or four days. On Innocent's day, he left Heſdin, rode forwards to Boulogne, where he took up his quarters in the abbey, and remained there until he had a favorable wind.

He was accompanied, when he croſſed the ſea, by the following nobles of his realm, the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Eu, the earl of Dampmartin, the grand prior of France, the lord Boucicaut mar-

* That on his return, &c. King John's paſſport is in Rymer, dated 10th December 1363. There is alſo in that excellent collection, the patent of the creation of Philip duke of Burgundy, which is dated Germigny ſur Marne, 6th September, 1363.—CARTE, vol. ii.

There are two Germignys, Germigny l'Evêque and Germigny ſous Coulome, villages of Brie, in the dioceſe and election of Meaux.

ſhal of France, ſir Triſtan de Maguelles, ſir Peter and ſir John de Villiers, ſir John d'Anville, ſir Nicholas Bracque, and ſeveral great knights.

When their veſſels were laden, and the mariners had a wind to their wiſhes, they informed the king, who embarked on board his veſſel about midnight, as did his attendants on board of theirs. Having ſet their ſails for the coaſt of England, they arrived at Dover about veſpers. It was on the day preceding the vigil of the feaſt of the three kings, called the Epiphany *.

News was brought to the king of England (who at that time was with his queen at Eltham, a very magnificent palace which the king had, ſeven miles from London), that the king of France had landed at Dover. He immediately ordered many knights of his houſehold to go and congratulate the king on his arrival; the lord Bartholomew Burgherſh †, ſir Richard Pembridge ‡, ſir Allen Boxhall §, and ſe-

* This, according to a marginal note of Denys Sauvage, makes it 1364, beginning the year the 1ſt of January.

† Lord Burgherſh,—knight of the Garter. See Dugdale's Baronage.

‡ Sir Richard Pembridge. See p. 113, note.

§ Sir Allan Boxhall, – fifty-ſecond knight of the Garter. See Aſhmole.

Walſingh. Ypodigma, p. 136, ſaith; 'Hoc anno, Rob. Haule ſcutifer ſuit occiſus in eccleſia Weſtmon. tempore majoris miſſæ per quoſdam regis ſatellites quorſum ductor extitit Alanus de Buxhalle, miles per ante non ignobilis, ſed hoc facto poſtea ſemper infamis;' for which he was by name excommunicated.

Anno 1378, ſir Ralph de Ferrars was excommunicated with him for the ſame offence.

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veral others. They took leave of king Edward, and rode towards Dover, where they found the king of France, who had remained there ſince his arrival. They attended and conducted him with every mark of reſpect and honor, as they well knew how to do. Among other compliments, they told him the king their lord was much rejoiced at his coming, which the king of France readily believed.

On the morrow morning, the king and his attendants were on horſeback early, and rode to Canterbury, where they dined. On entering the cathedral, the king paid his devotions at the ſhrine of St. Thomas à Becket, and preſented to it a rich jewel of great value. The king of France remained two days in the city of Canterbury. The third day he ſet out, taking the road to London, and rode on until he came to Eltham, where the king of England was, with a number of lords, ready to receive him. It was on a Sunday, in the afternoon, that he arrived: there were, therefore, between this time and ſupper, many grand dances and carols.

The young lord de Coucy * was there, who took pains to ſhine in his dancing and ſinging whenever it was his turn. He was in great favor with both the French and Engliſh; for whatever he choſe to do he did well and with grace.

* Lord de Coucy. Enguerrand de Coucy, ſon of Enguerrand de Coucy and Catharine, daughter of Leopold, firſt duke of Swabia (the preſent imperial family). He married Iſabella, eldeſt daughter of Edward III.—*Anderſon's Royal Genealogies.*

I can never relate how very honorably and magnificently the king and queen of England received king John. On leaving Eltham, he went to London; and, as he came near, he was met by the citizens dreſſed out in their proper companies, who greeted and welcomed him with much reverence, and attended him with large bands of minſtrels, unto the palace of the Savoy, which had been prepared for him.

The princes of the blood royal that remained, as his hoſtages, in England, were alſo lodged in the ſame palace; namely, his brother the duke of Orleans, his ſon the duke of Berry, his couſin the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Alençon, Guy de Blois, the earl of St. Pol and many more.

The king paſſed there part of the winter very gaily with his countrymen. The king of England viſited him often; as did his children, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Lancaſter, and the lord Edmund his youngeſt ſon. There were ſeveral times great feaſtings between them, in dinners, ſuppers and other entertainments, at this hôtel of the Savoy, and at the palace of Weſtminſter, which is not far off, whither the king went in a private manner, whenever he choſe it, by means of the river Thames.

They both frequently regretted the loſs of the lord James de Bourbon, and ſaid that it was a very unfortunate buſineſs; for no one deſerved better his rank among nobles.

We will now leave the king of France for a ſhort time, and ſpeak of the king of Cyprus, who had

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come to Angoulême to viſit his couſin the prince of Wales. He was moſt graciouſly received by his royal highneſs, and by all the barons, knights and ſquires of Poitou and Saintonge who were then with the prince, ſuch as the viſcount de Thouars, the young lord of Pons, the lord of Partenay, ſir Louis de Harcourt, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle; and, among the Engliſh, by ſir John Chandos, ſir Thomas Felton *, ſir Nêle Loring †, ſir Richard de Pontchardon ‡, ſir Simon de Baſſelle §, and ſeveral others, as well of that country as from England.

The king of Cyprus was magnificently entertained by the prince, princeſs, and the barons and knights above mentioned. He ſtaid there upwards of a month; and then ſir John Chandos accompanied him, for his amuſement, into different parts of Poitou and Saintonge, and ſhewed him the good town of la Rochelle, where there was a grand feaſt made for him. When he had ſeen every thing, he

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* Sir Thomas Felton,—of Lutcham in Norfolk, forty-ninth knight of the Garter. He was grand ſeneſchal and commandant de Guienne for Richard II. He was killed in oppoſing Henry Tranſtamare, before the battle of Najara. Sir Thomas Hoo, knight of the Garter, married his daughter.—*Anſtis' MSS. Collections.*

† Sir Nêle Loring,—twentieth knight of the Garter. See his life in Aſhmole. He was chamberlain to the black prince. He died the 9th Richard II. and was buried at Dunſtable. *Anſtis' MSS. Collections.*

‡ Sir Richard de Pontchardon. I cannot find any thing about him.

§ Sir Simon de Baſſelles,—probably Baſſet, but I cannot ſay more.

returned

returned to Angoulême, to aſſiſt at the noble tournament which the prince held, where there were plenty of knights and ſquires.

Soon after this feaſt, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the prince and of the knights of the country, but not before he had related to them the principal reaſon of his viſit, and for what cauſe he had put on the red croſs which he wore: how the pope had bleſſed this expedition, which was deſerving of every praiſe; and how the king of France through devotion, as well as many other great lords, had put it on, and had ſworn to its execution.

The prince and the knights made him a courteous anſwer, ſaying, that in truth it was an expedition in which every man of worth or honor was intereſted; and that, if it pleaſed God, and the paſſage were open, he would not be alone, but would be followed by all thoſe who were deſirous to advance themſelves.

The king of Cyprus was well pleaſed with this ſpeech, and took his departure; but ſir John Chandos attended him, until he had quitted the principality. It appears to me, that he went back into France, and took the road towards Paris, in the hopes of finding the king of France returned home: but it was not ſo; for he was ſtill at the palace of the Savoy, confined to his bed by ſickneſs, of which he grew worſe every day, to the great uneaſineſs of the king of England and his queen, as the moſt learned phyſicians had declared him to be in much danger.

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The duke of Normandy was informed of all this at Paris, where he reſided, having the regency of the realm; for the lord de Boucicaut had croſſed the ſea, to convey the news of this illneſs to him.

The king of Navarre alſo heard of the progreſs of this diſorder, which gave him no diſpleaſure, for he hoped, if the king of France died, to carry on his war more to his ſatisfaction: he ſent letters, therefore, to the captal de Buch *, who at that time was with his brother-in-law the earl of Foix †, to deſire that he would come to him in Normandy, and that he would exalt him in dignities above all other lords and knights.

The captal, who was fond of arms and couſin to the king of Navarre, complied with his requeſt. He left the earl of Foix, taking his road through the principality of Aquitaine, where he ſolicited ſeveral knights and ſquires to go with him; but he ſucceeded with only a few. Neither the Engliſh, Gaſcons nor Poitevins were willing to take up arms for the king of Navarre, againſt the crown of France; for they conſidered the treaties and alli-

* Captal de Buch,—fifth knight of the Garter. M. Anſtis, in his ſecond volume, ſays, 'it was ſir John de Greilly, of royal lineage, and the moſt renowned commander at that time, whoſe unalterable loyalty to the crown of England was ſuch, that he choſe to die a priſoner at Paris, 1397, rather than deviate from it.'

'Buch is a ſmall promontory, lying along the coaſt from Bayonne to Medoc,' &c. See Anſtis.

† Earl of Foix. Gaſton II. ſucceeded his father, 1344. His ſiſter Blanca was married to John de Greilly.

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ances entered into and ſworn by the king of England, their ſovereign lord, with the king of France at Calais, ſo ſacred and ſtrong, they would not by any means infringe or break them.

During the time the captal de Buch was journeying towards the king of Navarre, John king of France departed this life in England. The king, queen, the princes of the blood and all the nobles of England were exceedingly concerned at it, from the great love and affection he had ſhewn to them ſince the concluſion of the peace.

His brother, the duke of Orleans, and his ſon, the duke of Berry, were in great affliction at his death, and ſent in haſte to inform the duke of Normandy of the melancholy event; who, when he was certain it was true, was much affected by it, as he had reaſon to be; but, conſidering that every thing which is created muſt in the courſe of nature have an end, and that he could not remedy this loſs, he bore it as patiently as he was able. Finding himſelf thus ſucceſſor to the inheritance of the kingdom of France, and being well informed that the king of Navarre was daily reinforcing his garriſons in the county of Evreux, and that he was engaging men at arms to carry on the war, he reſolved to provide himſelf with an able council, and to oppoſe this evil by every means in his power.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCXVIII.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE MAKES WISE PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE KING OF NAVARRE, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE DEATH OF KING JOHN HIS FATHER, AND BEFORE HIS CORONATION.

AT this period there was a knight of Brittany, who had always borne arms in favor of the French, called ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin *. His worth and fame were but little known except among the knights of Brittany, who were his neighbours in that country, where he had reſided and carried on the war in favour of the lord Charles of Blois.

This ſir Bertrand was always much eſteemed by them as a valiant knight, and well beloved by his brethren at arms: he was already in the good graces of the duke of Normandy, on account of the great acts of valour that he had heard related of him.

It happened that the duke of Normandy, ſoon after the death of the king his father, had very ſtrong ſuſpicions of the king of Navarre: he therefore gave orders to the lord of Boucicaut, ſaying; 'Set out from hence as ſpeedily as you can, with as many friends as poſſible, and ride towards Normandy, where you will meet ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin: I ſhall then deſire that you both fall on the king of Navarre, and retake Mante; by which means we

* Bertrand du Gueſclin. For more of him, ſee his memoirs in the third and fourth volumes of les Memoires Hiſtoriques, and alſo in Hiſt. de la Bretagne, &c.

ſhall

ſhall be maſters of the river Seine.' The lord de Boucicaut anſwered, 'Sir, this I will moſt willingly perform *'.

He then quitted Paris, taking with him a great number of knights and ſquires. He followed the road towards Normandy, through St. Germain en Laye, and gave thoſe to underſtand who accompanied him that he was going to attack the caſtle of Roulleboiſe †, which was detained by certain perſons called free companions, who did every miſchief poſſible. Roulleboiſe has a very good and ſtrong caſtle upon the river Seine, about a league diſtant from Mante, and was at that time filled and garriſoned by theſe companies and their men at arms, who carried on the war for their own benefit, and attacked the friends of the kings of France and of Navarre without diſtinction. They had a captain of the name of Wautaire Auſtarde ‡, a native of Bruſſels, whom they implicitly obeyed. He paid them according to a certain fixed proportion of wages, and was an expert ſoldier of great courage.

He and his people had pillaged the country all around; ſo that no one dared travel from Paris to Mante, nor from Mante to Rouen or Pontoiſe, for

* It does not appear from the memoirs of Bertrand du Gueſclin, re-publiſhed in the third and fourth volumes of les Memoires Hiſtoriques, that the marechal de Boucicaut had any thing to do with the taking of Mante, &c. as his name never once occurs. Nor are the chronicles agreed as to the exact date when this happened.—See Note 19, Mem. Hiſt.

† Roulleboiſe,—a village in Normandy, on the Seine.

‡ Wautaire Auſtarde. Barnes calls him Vantair Auſtart.

fear

fear of them; for they attacked both French and Navarrois, preſſing eſpecially the people of Mante very hard.

When the lord de Boucicaut left Paris, though he made it be underſtood he was going to that part of the country, nevertheleſs he miſſed taking the right road to Roulleboiſe. He waited, therefore, for ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin and his army, who a ſhort time before had made an excurſion to Evreux *, and held a parley with the inhabitants of that city; but, inſtead of opening their gates to him, they ſeverely attacked him with ſtones, &c.: he retreated, and made for the marſhal, who had halted for him in a road not far from Roulleboiſe.

Upon muſtering their forces, they found they were full five hundred men at arms. Theſe two captains had a long conference together, upon the beſt means of ſubſiſting themſelves, and what would be the ſureſt method of gaining the town of Mante, their principal object. They determined that the lord de Boucicaut, with one hundred of his knights only, ſhould ride to Mante, and feign themſelves to be much frightened, crying out that the garriſon of Roulleboiſe was in purſuit of them, and begging that they would give them admittance. If they conſented, they were to ſeize the gates, and ſir Bertrand would directly follow with the remainder of the army: they would then be maſters of the

* Evreux,—an ancient city of Normandy. Its biſhop is ſuffragan to the archbiſhop of Rouen.

place. Should this plan fail, they did not ſee by what other means they could gain it.

The council being diſſolved, the lords kept the ſecret among themſelves. The lord de Boucicaut ſet out, according to their plan, and took the road to Mante: ſir Bertrand went with the reſt of the troops another road, but placed himſelf and men in ambuſh not far from the town.

When the lord de Boucicaut was near to Mante, he and his troop ſeparated, like to people that had been beaten and were purſued. The marſhal attended only by ten others, (followed, however, by the reſt at a ſmall diſtance) came to the barricadoes of the town, and cried out, 'Hollo, good people of Mante, open your gates, I beg of you, and let us come in; for the thieves of Roulleboiſe have diſcomfited us, and are now at our heels.' 'Who are you?' aſked thoſe whom he had addreſſed. 'I am, gentlemen, the lord de Boucicaut, marſhal of France, whom the duke of Normandy had ſent againſt Roulleboiſe: but thoſe rogues there have beaten us, and made us fly, whether willing or not; and they will capture me and my people unleſs you open your gates to us.'

The people of Mante, thinking he had ſaid nothing but truth, replied; 'Sir, we know well that thoſe in Roulleboiſe are our enemies as well as yours, and that it is indifferent to them on which party they make war: on the other hand, the duke of Normandy hates us, on account of our attachment to the king of Navarre our lord: we are there-

'therefore in great doubt, if we ſhall not be betrayed by you, who are marſhal of France.' 'By my faith, gentlemen, that ſhall never be; for I am come into this country ſolely to deſtroy the garriſon of Roulleboiſe.' At theſe words, they opened their gates. The lord de Boucicaut entered, with ſome of his companions; but he was followed ſo ſlowly by the remainder, that the people of Mante had not time to ſhut their gates upon ſir Bertrand's men, who came in with the laſt of the lord de Boucicaut's party: for though the lord de Boucicaut went with his men directly to an hôtel, where they diſarmed themſelves, in order the better to blind the inhabitants, ſir Bertrand and his forces came full gallop into the town, crying, 'St. Yves Gueſclin! death to the Navarrois.' They entered, pillaged the houſes of whatever they found, and made priſoners of whom they pleaſed: they alſo murdered ſeveral.

Soon after they had poſſeſſion of Mante, a detachment of Bretons advanced to Meulan, a league diſtant, and very cunningly entered it. They ſaid they were men at arms whom ſir William de Graville had ſent thither, and that as many or more had remained at Mante. The people of Meulan believed the truth of this the more readily becauſe they came by the road from Mante, and becauſe they could not have croſſed the river but by the bridge of Mante. Thinking what they had told them muſt be true, they opened their gates, which were inſtantly ſeized by the Bretons, who entered, crying out, 'St. Yves Gueſclin!' and began to lay about

them with their arms. When the inhabitants found themſelves thus deceived, and that there were no hopes of redreſs, they fled and ſaved themſelves as well as they could.

Thus were Mante and Meulan taken, to the great joy of the duke of Normandy. The king of Navarre was in a furious rage, when he was informed of it: he directly reinforced all his towns and caſtles with troops and well tried officers; for he was much chagrined at loſing Mante and Meulan, as they were to him convenient entrances into France.

This ſame week, the captal de Buch arrived at Cherburgh with four hundred men at arms. The king of Navarre was well pleaſed thereat, and received him moſt graciouſly. In his complaints againſt the duke of Normandy, he was very ſore upon his loſſes of the towns of Mante and Meulan, which, he ſaid, had been taken from him by ſtealth. The captal replied; 'My lord, if it pleaſe God, we will go and meet your enemies, and exert ourſelves ſo effectually that, God willing, you ſhall ſpeedily have again poſſeſſion of theſe, as well as many other towns and caſtles. It is ſaid, that the king of France will very ſoon go to Rheims, for his coronation: we will therefore at that time begin our attack on his country.'

The king of Navarre, being much rejoiced at the arrival of the captal de Buch, ſaid he ſhould ſend him on an excurſion into France. The king ſought for men at arms wherever he could get them, or where there was any likelihood of obtaining them.

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There was at that time in Normandy, an Engliſh knight who formerly had borne arms for the king of Navarre; his name was ſir John Jouel*; a very able and expert man in his profeſſion. He commanded about two or three hundred lances. The king of Navarre ſent to intreat him to ſerve under him, together with his men; which ſir John Jouel conſented to, and waited on him to place himſelf under his orders.

The duke of Normandy was informed that the king of Navarre was collecting large bodies of men at arms, and that the captal de Buch was to be the commander of them. He therefore formed his reſolutions, and wrote to ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, to order him and his Bretons to make a ſtand againſt the Navarrois, and that he would ſpeedily ſend him ſufficient reinforcements to offer battle to the troops of the king of Navarre. At the ſame time, he ordered the lord de Boucicaut to remain at Mante and Meulan.

Sir Bertrand and his Bretons departed, and took up their quarters near to Vernon. In a few days afterward, the duke of Normandy ſent to him ſome noble men at arms; ſuch as the earl of Auxerre, the viſcount de Beaumont, the lord de Beaujeu, the lord Louis de Châlons, the archprieſt, the maſter of the croſs-bowmen, and many other knights and ſquires.

* Sir John Jouel. Barnes calls him ſir John Jones; but he quotes no authority for this change from all the chronicles and memoirs of the times.

About this time, ſeveral knights of Gaſcony came to ſerve under the duke of Normandy: among whom were the lord d'Albret, ſir Aymon de Pommiers, the ſouldich de l'Eſtrade *, ſir Petiton de Courton and ſeveral more. The duke of Normandy felt himſelf much obliged to them for coming to his aſſiſtance, and begged of them to go into Normandy to oppoſe his enemies.

The above-named lords willingly obeyed, and, having put their men in proper array, marched towards Normandy, except the lord d'Albret, who remained with the duke; but his troops went on the expedition.

At this period a knight, called Beaumont de Laval, came from the French frontiers of Brittany, and advanced towards Evreux, with about forty lances under him. A young knight, ſir Guy de Graville, happened to be in that town at the time, who no ſooner heard of the alarm than he haſtened to arm himſelf, ordering all the garriſon to do the ſame: they were ſoon mounted, and in purſuit after them. But ſir Beaumont had already ſucceeded in his enterpriſe. However, by the fleetneſs of his horſe, ſir Guy de Graville came near enough to cry out, 'Beaumont, you muſt not go off thus: the men of Evreux muſt ſpeak to you, for they wiſh to be better acquainted with you.' When ſir Beau-

* The ſouldich de l'Eſtrade He was afterwards created a knight of the Garter. See Anſtis's Garter, vol. ii. p. 157. He calls him ſir Sandich de Trane.

mont

mont thus heard himſelf called upon, he turned his horſe about, lowered his lance, and made ſtraight for ſir Guy. Theſe two knights met each other with ſuch force, that their lances were ſhivered on their ſhields; but they were ſo firm in their ſeats that neither was unhorſed, as they paſſed each other. On their return, they drew their ſwords; and, at the ſame time, both their companies began to fight ſo furiouſly, that in the courſe of the rencounter many were unhorſed on each ſide.

The Bretons acquitted themſelves moſt loyally; but in the end they could not maintain their ground, for numbers increaſed upon them every moment ſo that they were all killed or made priſoners: none eſcaped. Sir Beaumont de Laval was taken by ſir Guy de Graville, and brought as his priſoner to the caſtle of Evreux, whither all the other priſoners were conducted. Thus ended this adventure; for which ſir Guy was much praiſed, and beloved by the king of Navarre and the citizens of Evreux.

CHAP. CCXIX.

THE KING OF CYPRUS RETURNS TO PARIS.—THE FUNERAL OF KING JOHN AT ST. DENIS.—THE CAPTAL DE BUCH MAKES AN ATTACK ON SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN.

THE king of Cyprus, who was now returned from Aquitaine to France, went to meet the king, who had before borne the title of duke of Normandy. His two brothers, the duke of Anjou, and the lord

Philip, ſince duke of Burgundy, were with the king, waiting for the corpſe of their father, which was on the road from England. The king of Cyprus very cordially condoled with them on the ſubject of their loſs, and was himſelf much affected by the death of the king of France, becauſe his expedition would be retarded by it: he clothed himſelf in black for his mourning.

When the body of the king of France, which had been embalmed and put into a coffin, approached near to Paris, attended by the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Dampmartin and the grand prior of France, the duke of Normandy, his brothers, the king of Cyprus and the greater part of the clergy of Paris, went on foot beyond St. Denis, to meet it. On being brought thither, it was buried with great ſolemnity; and the archbiſhop of Sens ſaid maſs on the day of the interment.

After the ſervice was over, and dinner ended (which was very magnificent) the great lords and prelates returned to Paris. There were then held many councils on the ſtate of the kingdom, which could not any longer do well without a king; and it was determined by the prelates and nobles, that they ſhould immediately go for Rheims. The duke of Normandy (for ſuch was ſtill his title) wrote to his uncle, Winceſlaus duke of Brabant* and Luxemburgh, and alſo to his couſin the earl of Flan-

* Winceſlaus duke of Brabant,—ſon of the emperor Charles IV.—*Anderſon's R. Genealogies.*

ders,

ders*, to requeſt their attendance at his coronation, which was fixed for Trinity-day next enſuing †.

Whilſt

* Earl of Flanders,—Lewis II. the laſt earl of Flanders. He was ſtabbed in a quarrel, by John ſon of the king of France, at Boulogne, 1382.—ANDERSON.

† As the account of the funeral of king John is very different in the ſuperb edition of les Grands Chroniques de St. Denis, in my poſſeſſion, I tranſlate it.

'This Tueſday, the 1ſt day of May 1364, the body of king John who had died at London, as has been related, was brought to the abbey of St. Anthony, near Paris. It remained there until the Sunday following, that preparations might be made for the funeral. On that day, the 5th of May, it was tranſported from thence to the church of Nôtre Dame, attended by proceſſions on foot from all the churches of Paris, and by three of the king's ſons, namely, Charles duke of Normandy, Lewis duke of Anjou, and Philip duke of Terouenne: the king of Cyprus was alſo there.

'The body was carried by the members of his parliament, as had been the uſage with other kings, becauſe they repreſent the perſon of the king in matters of juſtice, which is the faireſt jewel in his crown, and by which he reigns. On the Monday morning ſolemn maſs was ſung in the church of Nôtre Dame; and, ſoon afterward, the body was carried to St Denis in the ſame manner as it had been brought from the abbey of St. Anthony. The three princes and the king of Cyprus followed on foot, as far as the gate of St. Landri ‡, where they mounted their horſes, and accompanied the body to the town of St. Denis, where, on their arrival, they diſmounted, and, as before, followed the body on foot to the church.

‡ There was formerly a gate called Port St. Landri, near to St. Germain l'Auxerrois. It was built up in the year 1558.—*M. Sauval, Antiquités de Paris.*

'On

Whilſt theſe things were going forwards, and the nobles were making preparations for the coronation, the French and Navarrois were advancing towards each other in Normandy; the captal de Buch was already in the city of Evreux, collecting his men at arms and ſoldiers from every place he could get them. We will ſpeak of him and of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, as well as of a famous battle which was fought the Thurſday preceding Trinity Sunday, the day the duke was to be crowned king of France (as indeed he was) in the cathedral of the city of Rheims.

When the lord John de Grielly, known by the appellation of the captal de Buch, had completed his numbers of archers and foot-ſoldiers in the city of Evreux, he made his final arrangements, and appointed as governor of it a knight called the lord Michael d'Orgery. He ſent to Conches * the lord Guy de Graville, to defend that place as a fort of frontier. He then marched with all his men at arms and archers; for he had heard that the French were abroad, but was not certain in what quarter.

' On Tueſday, the 7th day of May, the obſequies of the late king were performed in the church of St. Denis, and the body was interred on the left hand of the high altar.

' Shortly after maſs, king Charles, the eldeſt ſon of the late king, went into the meadow, and there received the homages of the peers of France and other great barons. He then went to dinner, and remained at St. Denis that and the following day. On the Thurſday, king Charles left that town, to prepare for his coronation, which was fixt for the Trinity Sunday following.'

* Conches,—a market-town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux.

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He took the field, very deſirous of finding them; and, having muſtered his army, he found he had ſeven hundred lances, and full three hundred archers, with five hundred other ſerviceable men. There were among them ſeveral good knights and ſquires, eſpecially a banneret of the kingdom of Navarre, named the lord of Saulx; but the greateſt and moſt expert, with the largeſt company of men at arms and archers in his train, was an Engliſh knight, called ſir John Jouel. There were alſo the lord Peter de Saque-ville, the lord William de Gaville, the lord Bertrand du Franc, Baſque de Marneil, and many others, who were eager to meet ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, to give him battle. They marched towards Paſſy * and Pont de l'Arche, thinking the French would paſs the Seine there, if in truth they had not already croſſed it.

It chanced that, as on the Whitſun-Wedneſday, the captal and his companions were riding through a wood, he met a herald, whoſe name was Faucon, and who had that morning left the French army. As ſoon as the captal ſaw him, he recognized him, for he was one of the king of England's heralds, and aſked him from whence he came, and if he could give him any intelligence of the French army. 'Yes, that I can, in God's name, my lord,' replied he; 'for I only left them this day: they are ſeeking after you, and are very anxious to meet with you.' 'Where are they?' aſked the captal, 'on this or on the other ſide

* Paſſy,—a town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux.

of

of Pont de l'Arche?' 'In the Lord's name,' anſwered Faucon, 'they have paſſed Pont de l'Arche and Vernon, and are, as I believe, at this moment very near to Paſſy.' 'Tell me, I pray thee,' ſaid the captal, 'what ſort of people they are, and who are their captains!' 'In God's name,' replied Faucon, 'they are full fifteen hundred combatants, and all good men at arms. Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin is there, who has the largeſt company of Bretons: there are the earl of Auxerre, the viſcount de Beaumont, the lord Louis de Châlons, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord Baudoin d'Ennequin, grand maſter of the croſs-bows, the archprieſt, the lord Odoart de Renty. Some lords from Gaſcony, your countymen, are likewiſe among them, with the men at arms of the lord d'Albret; as alſo the lord Aymon de Pommiers and the lord ſouldich de la Tran[illegible].'

When the captal heard the names of theſe Gaſcons, he was marvelloufly aſtoniſhed, and turned red with anger: recovering his ſpeech, he ſaid; 'Faucon, Faucon, is it indeed true what thou haſt juſt told me of theſe Gaſcon lords being in the French army? and the men attached to the lord d'Albret?' 'Yes, in good faith, it is really as I have ſaid,' anſwered the herald. 'And where is the lord d'Albret himſelf?' aſked the captal. 'In God's name,' anſwered Faucon, 'he is at Paris, with the regent-duke of Normandy, who is making preparations for going to Rheims, to be crowned; for it is commonly reported that that ceremony is to take place on Sunday next.' The captal then put his

his hand to his head, and cried out in anger; 'By the head of St. Anthony, Gaſcons againſt Gaſcons will make miſchief enough.'

Then Faucon ſpoke concerning Prie (a herald whom the archprieſt had ſent thither), and ſaid to the captal, 'My lord, there is a herald hard by waiting for me, whom the archprieſt has ſent to you, and who, as I underſtand from the herald, would willingly ſpeak to you.' The captal made anſwer, ſaying, 'Ha, Faucon, Faucon, tell this French herald, that he need not come nearer; and let him ſay to the archprieſt, that I do not wiſh to have any parley with him.' Sir John Jouel, upon this, ſtepped forward, and ſaid, 'Why, my lord, will you not ſee the archprieſt? perhaps he may give us ſome information that we may profit by.' The captal replied; 'John, John, it will not be ſo; for the archprieſt is ſo great a deceiver, that if he were to come among us, telling his tales and his nonſenſe, he would examine and judge of our ſtrength and numbers, which would turn out probably to our diſadvantage: therefore I do not wiſh to hear of any parleys.'

Faucon, king at arms, upon this, returned to the herald Prie, who was waiting for him at the end of the hedge, and made ſuch good and ſenſible excuſes for the captal that the herald was perfectly ſatisfied, went back to the archprieſt, and related to him all that Faucon had told him.

By the reports of the two heralds, both armies were acquainted with each other's ſituation. They therefore made ſuch diſpoſitions, as would ſpeedily

force them to meet. When the captal had heard from Faucon the numbers the French army conſiſted of, he immediately diſpatched meſſengers to the captains who were in the city of Evreux, with orders for them to ſend him as many recruits and young gallants * to his aſſiſtance as they could poſſibly collect: they were to meet him at Cocherel †; for, ſuppoſing that he ſhould find the French in that neighbourhood, he had determined to fight them wherever he ſhould meet them.

When the meſſengers came to Evreux, the lord Michael d'Orgery had it publicly cried, and ſtrictly ordered all thoſe who were horſemen to join the captal. Upon this, there immediately ſet out one hundred and twenty young companions from that town.

On the Wedneſday the captal de Buch took up his quarters, about two o'clock, on a mountain, and encamped his army. The French, who were wiſhing to meet them, marched ſtraight forwards until they came to a river, called Yton, in that country, which runs towards Evreux, having its ſource near Conches, and encamped themſelves at their eaſe, this ſame Wedneſday, in a handſome meadow, through which this river runs.

On the morrow, the Navarrois decamped, and ſent their ſcouts out, to examine whether they could

* Young gallants. In all the original, it is 'jeunes armerets,' which D. Sauvage thinks ſhould be bannerets, but I do not ſee why. In Du Cange, armeret is a gallant, and thus I have tranſlated it.

† Cocherel,—a village in Normandy, dioceſe of Evreux.

learn

learn any news of the French. The French alſo ſent out their ſcouts on the ſame errand. Before they had gone two leagues, each brought back to his army ſuch intelligence as could be depended upon.

The Navarrois, conducted by Faucon, marched ſtraight by the way he had come, and, by four o'clock in the morning, found themſelves in the plains of Cocherel, with the French in front of them, who were already drawing up their army in battle-array. There were a great many banners and pennons flying; and they ſeemed to be in number more than half as many again as themſelves.

The Navarrois directly halted, on the outſide of a ſmall wood. The captains aſſembled together, and began to form their men in order of battle.

They firſt formed three battalions well and handſomely on foot, ſending their baggage and attendants into the wood. Sir John Jouel commanded the firſt battalion of Engliſh, which conſiſted of men at arms and archers. The captal de Buch had the ſecond battalion, which, one with another, was about four hundred combatants. With the captal, there were the lord of Saulx in Navarre, a young knight who had a banner, the lord William de Gaville, and the lord Peter de Saque-ville. The third battalion had three knights; the lord Baſque de Marneil *, the lord Bertrand de Franc and the lord Sauſelop-pins, and were in the whole about four hundred men under arms.

* Lord Baſque de Marneil. In the memoires of Bertrand, he is called Baſcon de Manuel, and the baron de Marceuil.

When

When they had formed their battalions, they marched them not far diſtant from each other, taking advantage of the mountain which was on their right, between them and the wood, poſting their front upon this mountain facing their enemies, and fixing, by orders of the captal, his banner in the midſt of a large thorn buſh. He commanded ſixty men to remain there, to guard and defend it. They had ſo placed it to ſerve as a ſtandard for them to rally round, if by chance of war they ſhould be diſperſed or ſeparated; and they ſtrictly ordered, that no one ſhould, on any pretence, deſcend the mountain; but if their enemies wiſhed to fight, they muſt come to ſeek them.

CHAP. CCXX.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE FRENCH UNDER SIR BERTRAND DE GUESCLIN, AND THE NAVARROIS UNDER THE CAPTAL DE BUCH, AT COCHEREL IN NORMANDY.—THE CAPTAL IS MADE PRISONER, AND VICTORY DECLARES FOR THE FRENCH.

THUS drawn out and formed were the Engliſh and Navarrois, who remained, as I have ſaid, upon the mountain. The French, in the mean time, arranged themſelves into three battalions alſo, and a rear-guard.

Sir Bertrand de Gueſclin commanded the firſt battalion, which was compoſed of all his Bretons, and they were fronted oppoſite to the battalion of the captal. The earl of Auxerre had the ſecond bat-

battalion. There were with him, as his adviſers, the viſcount de Beaumont, and the lord Baudoin d'Enequin, grand maſter of the croſs-bows. There were alſo in that battalion French, Picards and Normans, and ſir Odoart de Renty, ſir Enguerrant de Heſdin, ſir Louis de Havenquerque, with ſeveral other good knights and ſquires. The third battalion conſiſted of Burgundians, commanded by the archprieſt: with him were the lord de Châlons, the lord de Beaujeu, the lord John de Vienne, the lord Guy de Felay, the lord Hugh de Vienne and many more. This battalion was to oppoſe Baſque de Marneil and his company. The other battalion, which was to ſerve as a rear-guard, was entirely compoſed of Gaſcons; and they were commanded by the lord Edmund de Pommiers, the lord Soudich de la Trane, the lord Perdiccas d'Albret and the lord Petiton de Courton.

Theſe captains had a grand conſultation. They conſidered the arrangement of the captal, and that his people had fixed his banner in a buſh, with part of his men guarding it, as if it were to ſerve as a ſtandard: they therefore ſaid, 'It is abſolutely neceſſary, when the combat ſhall begin, that we march directly for this banner of the captal, and that we exert ourſelves as much as poſſible to gain it; for, if we be ſucceſsful, our enemies will be much diſheartened, and incur great danger of being conquered.'

Theſe Gaſcons thought alſo of another plan, which was of great ſervice to them, and was the cauſe of their gaining the day. As ſoon as the

French had formed their line, the principal Gaſcon chiefs withdrew together, and conſulted for a long time how they could beſt act; for they ſaw that their enemies, from their poſition, had greatly the advantage over them. One of them made a propoſal, which was cheerfully liſtened to: 'My lords, we well know that the captal is as hardy a knight as can be found upon earth; and, as long as he ſhall be able to keep with his men and fight, he will be too much for us. I therefore think that if we order thirty of our boldeſt and moſt expert cavaliers, to do nothing but to follow and attack the captal, whilſt we are making for his banner, his men will be thrown into ſome confuſion: and then our thirty, by their own ſtrength and that of their horſes, will be able to puſh through the crowd, and advance ſo near the captal, that they may ſeize him, and carry him off between them to ſome place of ſafety, where they will remain until the end of the battle; for, if he can be taken by ſuch means as this, the day will be ours, as his army will be panic-ſtruck' *.

The Gaſcon knights immediately aſſented to this plan, ſaying it was well thought of and ſhould be followed. They choſe from their battalion, thirty of the moſt enterpriſing men at arms, and mounted them upon the ſtrongeſt and moſt active horſes they had with them. They then marched into the plain,

* The editors of the Memoires Hiſtoriques doubt very much this fact, in a note to the Memoires du Gueſclin, and think Froiſſart muſt have heard it from a Gaſcon.

well

well inſtructed what they were to do. The army remained where it was, on foot, in order of battle.

When the French had thus drawn up their forces, and each knew what he was to do, the chiefs held a conſultation, and long debated what war-cry they ſhould uſe, and whoſe banner or pennon they ſhould fix on as a rallying point. They for a long time determined to cry, 'Nôtre Dame Auxerre!' and to make the earl of Auxerre their commander for that day. But the earl would not by any means accept of it, excuſing himſelf by ſaying; 'My lords, I return you many thanks for the good opinion you have of me, and for the honor you offer me; but at this moment I cannot accept of ſuch an office, for I am too young to undertake ſo honorable a charge. This is the firſt pitched battle I was ever at: for which reaſon I muſt beg of you to make another choice. We have here many very able and enterpriſing knights, ſuch as my lord Bertrand du Gueſclin, my lord the archprieſt, my lord the grand maſter of the croſs-bows, my lord Lewis de Châlons, my lord Edmund de Pommiers and ſir Odoart de Renty, who have been in many hard engagements, and know much better than I do what in ſuch caſes is proper to be done. I muſt, therefore, intreat you to excuſe me from accepting your honorable offer.'

The chiefs, after looking at each other, ſaid; 'Earl of Auxerre, you are the higheſt by birth, and of the largeſt property and eſtates of any of us: you have therefore the right of being our chief.' 'Certainly, my lords,' replied the earl of Auxerre, 'what you ſay is very pleaſing to me; but this day

I will only rank as one of your companions; and, whether I live or die, I will hazard the adventure among you; but, as to the command, I am determined not to accept it.'

They again looked at each other, in order to ſee whom they ſhould fix on for their chief. Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin was unanimouſly thought on, and conſidered as the beſt knight of the whole company, one who had been engaged in the greateſt number of battles, and who was the beſt informed in military affairs.

It was therefore reſolved they ſhould cry, 'Nôtre Dame Gueſclin!' and that the whole arrangement of that day ſhould be as ſir Bertrand would order it.

Every thing, therefore, being ſettled, each lord retired to his banner or pennon. They found that their enemies were ſtill upon the hill, and had not quitted their ſtrong ſituation (not having a deſire or thought of ſo doing), which very much vexed the French, ſeeing that they had greatly the advantage where they were, and that the ſun was beginning to be high, which was the more to their diſadvantage, for it was at that ſeaſon very hot. This delay was what the moſt able and expert knights dreaded; for they were as yet faſting, and had not brought with them any wine or victuals worth mentioning, except ſome of the lords, who had ſmall flagons of wine that were ſoon emptied, and none had been procured or thought of in the morning, as they imagined the engagement would begin on their arrival: but this, as it appeared, was not the caſe. The Engliſh and Navarrois deceived them thus by ſubtlety, and it was a late hour before they engaged.

When the French lords perceived their ſituation, they aſſembled in council, to know what would be the beſt for them to do, and whether they ſhould march to attack them or not. In this council, all were not of the ſame opinion. Some wiſhed to fight, whatever might be the conſequences; for, they ſaid, it would be ſhameful for them to make any difficulties about it. But others, better adviſed, ſaid, that if they ſhould begin the combat, ſituated as they were ſo much to their diſadvantage, they would be in the greateſt danger, and out of five men they ſhould certainly loſe three. In ſhort, they could not agree to fight in their preſent poſition.

During this time, the Navarrois ſaw them very plainly, and how they were formed: they ſaid to each other, 'Look at them: they will very ſoon come to us, for they have a good will ſo to do.'

There were among them ſome knights and ſquires of Normandy, that had been made priſoners by the Engliſh and Navarrois, who had been allowed perfect liberty to go and ride about wherever they pleaſed, upon the faith of their word of honor, provided they did not bear arms in favor of the French. They rode towards the French army, and, in converſation, ſaid to the French lords; 'My lords, conſider what you are about; for, ſhould this day paſs without an engagement, your enemies will to-morrow receive a very large reinforcement; as it is reported among them, that the lord Louis de Navarre is on his road to join them with at leaſt four hundred lances.'

This intelligence much inclined the French to attack the Navarrois at all events: they were made ready for it two or three different times: but the wiſer advice got the better. Thoſe lords ſaid, 'Let us wait a little longer, and ſee what they will do; for they are ſo proud and preſumptuous that they are as eager to fight us as we are to meet them.' Many of them were very ill and faint, from the great heat, as it was now about noon: they had faſted all the morning, and had been under arms: they were therefore much heated by the ſun, which affected them doubly through their armour. They ſaid, therefore, 'If we attempt to fight them by aſcending the hill in our preſent ſtate, we ſhall moſt certainly be beaten; but if we retreat to our quarters, through the neceſſity of the caſe, by to-morrow morning we ſhall form a better plan.' Thus had they different opinions on what was to be done.

When the knights of France (to whoſe honor the command of this army was intruſted) ſaw the Engliſh and Navarrois were not inclined to quit their ſtrong hold, and that it was now mid-day; having heard the information which the French priſoners who had viſited their army had given, and having conſidered that the greater part of their men were exceedingly hurt and faint, through the heat; they met together, by the advice of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, whoſe orders they obeyed, and held another council.

'My lords,' ſaid he, 'we perceive that our enemies are very eager to fight us, and have a great wiſh for it; but, however violent that may be, they will

will not deſcend from their ſtrong poſition, unleſs by a plan which I ſhall propoſe to you. We will make diſpoſitions, as if for a retreat, not intending to fight this day; (our men, indeed, are ſeverely afflicted by the great heat); and order our ſervants, baggage, horſes, &c. to croſs the bridge and river, and retire to our quarters: we will, at the ſame time keep cloſe to them, watching attentively the enemy's motions. If they really wiſh to fight us, they will deſcend the hill, and follow us into the plain. As ſoon as we ſhall perceive their motions, if they act as I think they will, we ſhall be ready armed to wheel about, and thus ſhall have them more to our advantage.' This propoſal was approved of by all, and conſidered as the beſt that could have been offered.

Each lord, therefore, returned to his people, under his banner or pennon. The trumpets ſounded as for a retreat, and every knight and ſquire ordered his ſervants to croſs the river with their baggage. This the greater part did, and afterward the men at arms followed, but very ſlowly.

When ſir John Jouel (who was an expert and valiant knight, and eager to engage with the French) ſaw the manner of their retreat, he ſaid to the captal, 'My lord, my lord, let us now deſcend boldly: do you not ſee how the French are running away?' 'Ha,' replied the captal, 'they are only doing ſo out of malice, and to draw us down.'

Sir John Jouel, upon this advanced forward (for he was very deſirous of fighting), crying out, 'St. George!' and ſaid to his battalion, 'March: thoſe

that love me let them follow me, for I am going to engage'. He then drew his ſword, and, with it in his hand, marched at the head of his battalion. He and his company were almoſt down the hill before the captal moved; but when he found this to be ſo, and that ſir John Jouel meant to fight without him, he conſidered it as a great preſumption, and ſaid to thoſe around him, 'Come, let us deſcend the hill ſpeedily, for ſir John Jouel ſhall not fight without me.'

The company of the captal advanced forwards, with him at their head, his ſword in his hand. When the French, who had been watching them all the time, ſaw them deſcend and enter the plain, they were mightily rejoiced, and ſaid, 'See now, what we have been waiting for all this day has come to paſs!' They then faced about, with a thorough good will to meet their enemies, crying out 'Nôtre Dame Gueſclin!'

They dreſſed their banners in front of the Navarrois, and began to form under them from all parts and on foot. On the ſide of the Navarrois, ſir John Jouel advanced, ſword in hand, moſt valiantly, and drew up his battalion oppoſite to that of the Bretons, which was commanded by ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, and performed many gallant deeds of arms; for he was a bold knight; but he found there one that was too able a match for him.

The knights and ſquires then ſpread themſelves over the plain, and began to fight with all ſorts of weapons, juſt as they could lay hands upon them; and each party met the other with great courage.

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The Engliſh and Navarrois ſhouted out, 'St. George!' the French, 'Nôtre Dame Gueſclin!'

In this battle, there were many good knights on the ſide of the French: ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, the young earl of Auxere, the viſcount de Beaumont, ſir Baudoin d'Ennequin, grand maſter of the croſs-bows, the lord Louis de Châlons, lord Anthony the young lord de Beaujeu, who raiſed his banner for the firſt time, the lord Anthony de Kanerly, ſir Odoart de Renty, ſir Enguerrand de Hêdin.

In like manner, in the battalion of Gaſcons, who were drawn up by themſelves, there combated moſt valiantly, ſir Aymon de Pommiers, ſir Perdiccas d'Albret, the ſouldich de la Trane, ſir Petiton de Courton, and ſeveral others of the ſame ſort. This battalion was formed oppoſite to that of the captal, which conſiſted of Gaſcons alſo, and they were very deſirous of meeting. There were many hard blows given, and many valorous deeds of arms performed on each ſide; for no one ſhould wilfully lie.

It may be aſked, 'What became of the archprieſt, who was an excellent knight, and had the command of a battalion, that I have not hitherto made any mention of him? I will tell the truth. As ſoon as the archprieſt ſaw the enemies drawn up, and that the battle was going to begin in earneſt, he quitted his company, but ſaid to his people, and particularly to his banner-bearer; 'I order and command you, under pain of my greateſt diſpleaſure, that you remain where you are, and wait the event of the battle.

I ſet

I ſet out directly from hence, not meaning to return: for I can neither bear arms nor fight againſt ſome of the knights that are with the enemy. If any one ſhould inquire after me, this is the anſwer that you will give him.' He then ſet out, accompanied by a ſingle ſquire, re-croſſed the river, and left the others to make the beſt of it. They did not notice his abſence, as they ſaw his banner, and thought he was among them, until the buſineſs was over.

I will now ſpeak of this battle, and how it was ſtiffly maintained. At the commencement of the conflict, when ſir John Jouel had deſcended the hill, he was followed by all as cloſely as they could, and even by the captal and his company, who thought they ſhould have gained the day; but it turned out otherwiſe.

When they perceived that the French had wheeled about in good order, they immediately found they had been deceived. However, like determined men, they were not panic-ſtruck at the diſcovery, but were reſolved to recover it by their gallantry in the combat.

They retreated a little, then aſſembled together, and after that they opened their ranks to give room to their archers, who were in the rear, to make uſe of their bows. When the archers were advanced in front, they extended themſelves, and began to exert themſelves handſomely in ſhooting; but the French were ſo ſtrongly armed and ſhielded againſt their arrows, they were but little hurt by them, if at all, and for this did not fight the leſs valiantly, but intermixed

mixed themſelves with the Engliſh and Navarrois, as did the Engliſh with them, equally eager in the combat.

There was much hacking and cutting of each other, with lances and battle-axes, ſeizing each other by main ſtrength and wreſtling. They took and ranſomed priſoners from each alternately, and were ſo much intermixed together, that they engaged man to man, and behaved with a degree of valour ſcarcely to be credited but by eye-witneſſes.

You may eaſily imagine that in ſuch a crowd, and ſo ſituated, numbers were thrown down, wounded and killed: for neither ſide ſpared the other. The French had need not to ſleep on their bridles; for they had oppoſed to them men of ability and determined enterpriſe. Each, therefore, loyally agreed, not only to defend himſelf and his poſt vigorouſly, but to take every advantage that ſhould offer: if they had not done ſo, they muſt have been defeated. In truth, I muſt ſay, that the Bretons and Gaſcons were good men, and performed many gallant feats of arms.

I wiſh now to ſpeak of the thirty who had been ſelected to attack the captal. They had been excellently mounted, on the beſt horſes of the army, and attentive to nothing but their orders (as, being ſo charged, they were bound to do): they advanced in a cloſe body towards the captal, who was uſing his battle-axe manfully, and gave ſuch deadly ſtrokes with it that none dared approach him. They puſhed through the crowd by the ſtrength of their horſes,

horſes, as well as by the help of ſome Gaſcons who had accompanied them.

Theſe thirty men, who, as you have ſeen, were ſo well mounted, and who knew well what they were to do, neither looking to the riſk nor danger, made up directly to the captal and ſurrounded him. They all fell upon him, and carried him off by dint of force, quitting the ſpot directly. This created great confuſion, and all the battalions drew thitherward; for the captal's men were like to madmen, ſhouting out, 'Reſcue, reſcue the captal!' All this, nevertheleſs, was of no ſervice or help to them; for, in fact, the captal was carried off in the manner I have related, and placed in ſafety. However, at the moment this happened, it was not truly known which ſide had the beſt of the battle.

In this grand buſtle and confuſion, whilſt the Navarrois and Engliſh, like madmen, were following the captal, who had been captured before their eyes, ſir Aymon de Pommiers, ſir Petiton de Courton, the ſouldich de la Trane, and the company of the lord d'Albret, determined unanimouſly to make for the banner of the captal, which was fixed in a buſh, and which ſerved as a ſtandard for the Navarrois.

The attack and defence were equally ſharp and vigorous; for it was guarded by good men: particularly, by ſir Baſcon de Marneil and ſir Geoffry de Rouſſillon: many were wounded, killed, unhorſed and reſcued. The Navarrois, at laſt, who were near this buſh and about the banner, were broken

broken in upon and forced to retreat. Sir Baſcon de Marneil with ſeveral others were ſlain. Sir Geoffry de Rouſſillon was made priſoner by ſir Aymon de Pommiers. The banner of the captal was immediately ſeized: and thoſe who defended it were either killed, taken, or had retreated ſo far that there was no news of them.

Whilſt the banner of the captal, was thus conquered, torn and dragged upon the ground by the Gaſcons, the Bretons, the French, the Picards, the Normans and Burgundians were moſt valiantly fighting in another part of the field; and well it behoved them ſo to do, for the Navarrois had made them retreat. Among the French, there was already killed the viſcount de Beaumont; the more the pity, for he was a young knight, well formed to do great things. His people, to their great ſorrow, had carried him out of the battle, and guarded him, as I have heard related, by thoſe of both ſides. No one had ever ſeen a battle, with the like number of combatants, ſo well fought as this was; for they were all on foot, and combated hand to hand, intermixing with each other, and ſtriving for victory with the arms they uſed, and, in particular, with thoſe battle-axes which gave ſuch aſtoniſhingly fatal blows.

Sir Petiton de Courton and the ſouldich de la Trane were ſorely wounded, inſomuch that they could do no ſervice during the remainder of the day. Sir John Jouel, by whom the combat began, and who had moſt courageouſly attacked and fought the French, performed, that day, many very gallant feats of arms, and never deigned once to retreat.

treat. He had been engaged ſo far in the battle that he was grievouſly wounded in ſeveral parts of the head and body, and at laſt made priſoner by a ſquire of Brittany under ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin: he was then carried out of the crowd.

At length, the French gained the field; but on their ſide there were killed the grand maſter of the croſs-bows, ſir Louis de Havenquerque, and many others. On the ſide of the Navarrois, the lord de Saulx and numbers of his people were ſlain.

Sir John Jouel died in the courſe of the day. There were made priſoners, ſir William de Graville, ſir Peter de Seqainville, ſir Geoffry de Rouſſillon, ſir Bertrand du Franc, and ſeveral more. Few of the Navarrois eſcaped being ſlain or taken. This battle was fought in Normandy, pretty near to Cocherel, on a Thurſday, the 24th day of May 1364*.

After this defeat, when all the dead were ſtripped, and thoſe who had made priſoners had put them aſide and attended to the wounded; when the greater part of the French, having re-paſſed the bridge, were retiring bruiſed and weary, to their quarters; ſir Guy de Graville, ſon of ſir William de Graville, who had been made a priſoner, having in haſte left Conches (a garriſon-town of the Na-

* 'It is ſingular enough, that the date of ſo memorable a battle ſhould not have been more certainly known. Hiſtorians place it the 23d May 1364. Du Châtelet reports ancient acts, which prove it to have been the 16th May.

'Froiſſart, in relating this battle, differs from our memoires in ſeveral details,' &c.—*Memoires Hiſtoriques*, vol. iv.

varrois),

Navarrois), with fifty lancemen, intending to join the captal, came on full ſpeed to the field where the battle had been fought. Upon which, the French in the rear cried out, 'Let us turn back, for here are more enemies.'

On hearing this, ſir Aymon and his company, who had remained on the field, ſeeing theſe Navarrois advancing, fixed his pennon aloft in a buſh, as a rallying poſt for the French. When ſir Guy ſaw this, and heard the ſhout of 'Nôtre Dame Gueſclin!' and that none of his party appeared, but plenty of dead bodies were lying around, he ſoon found that the Navarrois had been diſcomfited; he therefore quickly faced about, and returned the way he came.

In the evening, the French examined thoſe priſoners whom they had in their tents. The archprieſt was much inquired about, and ſpoken of, when it was found that he had not been in the engagement: his people made the beſt excuſes for him they could. You muſt know that the thirty cavaliers who had carried off the captal, as you have heard, never halted until they had brought him ſafe to Vernon, and lodged him in the caſtle. On the morrow, the French decamped, and marched to the city of Rouen, where they left a part of their priſoners.

CHAP. CCXXI.

CHARLES V. SURNAMED THE WISE, IS CROWNED KING OF FRANCE.—HIS BROTHER PHILIP IS INVESTED WITH THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY, AND SENT AGAINST THE FREE COMPANIES OF PILLAGERS.

ON Trinity-day 1364, king Charles, eldeſt ſon of the late king John of France, was crowned and conſecrated king, in the great church of our Lady at Rheims, by the archbiſhop of that city; and with him his queen, the daughter of duke Peter of Bourbon. The king of Cyprus, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, the lord Wenceſlaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, the earls of Eu, of Dampmartin, of Tancarville, of Vaudemont, and great numbers of other lords and prelates were preſent at this ceremony.

There were great entertainments and feaſts at Rheims, during the time the king remained, which was five days: he then departed for Paris. It would take me a long time were I to relate all the fine ſhows and feaſts the Pariſians made for him at his entry. The lords after this, that is to ſay, the ſtrangers who had come to his coronation, returned to their own countries.

When the king of France was come back to Paris, he gave the inveſtiture of the duchy of Burgundy to his youngeſt brother, who left Paris with a noble company, in order to take poſſeſſion and receive the homage of the barons, knights, cities,

cities, caſtles and large towns in that duchy. After he had viſited that whole country, he returned to Paris.

He brought with him the archprieſt, who appeaſed the anger of the king, which he had incurred by not fighting at the battle of Cocherel, by the fair reaſons he gave for not bearing arms againſt the captal *. The captal had been brought a priſoner to Paris, and, through the interceſſion of the lord d'Albret, obtained his liberty on his parole. He alſo aſſiſted the archprieſt to excuſe himſelf towards the king, as well as towards the French knights who had talked very ſcurvily of him, notwithſtanding he had overthrown lately, in a part of Burgundy, beyond Dijon, four hundred pillagers; over whom Guillot du Pin, Taillebert, Taillebourdon and John de Chaufour were captains.

About this time, the king of France ordered ſir Peter de Sequainville to be beheaded in the city of Rouen, for having taken the part of the Navarrois. Sir William de Graville would have undergone the ſame puniſhment, if his ſon, ſir Guy, had not ſignified to the king of France, that whatever treatment his

* The archprieſt, according to the life of Charles V. by the abbé de Choiſy, had oftentimes changed ſides: ſometimes for the king of France, but oftener for the king of Navarre, becauſe there was more licence allowed the ſoldiers of his army. After the peace, he pillaged various provinces of France. In his retreat from the emperor Charles IV. near Mâcon in Burgundy, he was aſſaſſinated by his own men. His death gave great joy to the people, whom he had robbed for ten years ſucceſſively.—*Hiſtoire de Charles V.* p. 88.

father ſuffered, he would do the like to ſir Beaumont de Laval, a great lord of Brittany, whom he kept as his priſoner. Upon this, the family of ſir Beaumont interceded with the king, and exerted themſelves ſo effectually that they obtained the exchange of ſir Beaumont for ſir William de Graville *.

Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin, at this time, gained the caſtle of Roulleboiſe, by preſenting the governor of it, ſir Vautaire Auſtard, with ſix thouſand francs, who retired to Brabant, whence he had come.

Many large companies of pillagers ſtill kept poſſeſſion of different forts in the countries of Caux, Normandy, Beauce and Perche, whence they greatly haraſſed the kingdom of France: ſome under pretence of ſerving the king of Navarre; others, for themſelves, robbed and deſtroyed the country without any claims of right or of reaſon.

The king of France ſent his brother, the duke of Burgundy, againſt theſe pillagers, who appointed his rendezvous in the city of Chartres. He then took the field, accompanied by ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, the lord de Boucicaut, the earl of Auxerre, the lord Louis de Châlons, the lord de Beaujeu, ſir

* In the Memoires Hiſtoriques, note 31. of Bertrand du Gueſclin, it is ſaid, that ſir William de Graville was ranſomed from ſir Guy de Bayeux, who had taken him, for one thouſand florins, and that the king was ſo much angered by it, againſt Bayeux and his children, they were forced to leave the kingdom: the king afterwards pardoned them. In the continuation, however, of this note, it is related nearly the ſame as Froiſſart tells it.

Aymon de Pommiers, the lord Raineval, Pierre de Villaines, ſurnamed le Bègue, the lord Nicholas de Ligne, grand maſter of the croſs-bows, ſir Odoart de Renti, ſir Enguerrand de Hêdin, and full five thouſand combatants.

When they found they muſtered ſo ſtrong, they divided themſelves into three bodies; from which ſir Bertrand took, at the moſt, one thouſand fighting men; and marched for the country of Coutantin, towards the neighbourhood of Cherbourg, to guard the frontiers, and to prevent the Navarrois from doing any miſchief to Normandy. The lord of Sancerre, the earl of Joigny, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, and a crowd of knights and ſquires from Brittany and Normandy, accompanied ſir Bertrand.

Another diviſion was under the command of the lord John de la Riviere; and with him were many knights and ſquires of France and Picardy, whom he ſent towards Evreux.

The duke had the largeſt diviſion. He went and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Marcheville *, which was a very ſtrong fortreſs, in poſſeſſion of the Navarrois. He ordered many machines to be brought from Chartres, by which he flung into it ſtones and other things day and night, that much annoyed the garriſon.

* Marcheville,—a town in Beauce, dioceſe of Chartres.

CHAP. CCXXII.

THE LORD LEWIS OF NAVARRE MAKES INCURSIONS INTO FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY PLANS SEVERAL EXPEDITIONS AGAINST HIM, BUT IS FORCED TO GO INTO BURGUNDY, TO DEFEND IT AGAINST THE EARL DE MONTBELIART.

WHILST theſe men at arms were haraſſing the Navarrois and enemies of the realm, in Beauce and in Normandy, the lord Lewis of Navarre (the lord Philip being dead) had taken upon himſelf the management of the war for his brother the king of Navarre, and had ſent a challenge to the king of France, becauſe the object of this war was perſonal to their family, being for a right of inheritance. He had therefore aſſembled men at arms ever ſince the battle of Cocherel, and was collecting them from every part he could get them. He had been ſo active himſelf, and by means of the captains of companies, of which great numbers ſtill remained in France, that he had aſſembled upwards of twelve hundred lances.

With him were ſir Robert Knolles * ſir Robert Ceny † and ſir Robert Briquet de Carſnelle ‡. The

* Sir Robert Knolles was a great captain, and the maker of his own fortune. There is a doubt if he were or were not a knight of the Garter (No. 74). See M. Anſtis. Having conſidered the different very great employments he held, &c. I am inclined to believe he was of the Garter.

† Sir Robert Ceny,—ſir Robert Cheney. See his pedigree in M Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. His deſcendants were called to the houſe of peers, 3d Henry VII.

‡ Sir Robert Briquet de Carſnelle. I can find nothing about him-

men

men at arms, who were every day increaſing, were quartered between the rivers Loire and Allier *, and had overrun a part of the Bourbonnois and Auvergne, between Moulins †, St. Pierre le Mouſtier ‡ and St. Pourſaint §. From this body, whom the Lord Lewis de Navarre commanded, a company of about three thouſand were detached under the orders of Bertrand de la Salle and Ortingo. They croſſed the Loire above Marcilly les Nonnains ‖, and puſhed forward with ſo much haſte, that by day-break they came before la Charité ¶, a large and well incloſed town upon the Loire.

This they immediately ſcaled without any oppoſition; and, having entered the town, took poſſeſſion of that part of it; but, as they were fearful leſt the townſ-people might have laid an ambuſcade for them, they dared not advance further until it ſhould be broad day.

During this delay, the inhabitants of the town embarked all their moſt valuable things in boats which were on the river Loire, and, having alſo placed their wives and children in them, ſailed off

* Allier,—a river in Languedoc, which riſes in the Gevaudan, near the village of Coudray, whence, flowing northwards, it traverſes Auvergne and the Bourbonnois, and then, entering the Nivernois, falls into the Loire, about a league above Nevers.

† Moulins,—capital of the Bourbonnois, on the Allier.

‡ St. Pierre le Mouſtier,—a town of the Nivernois.

§ Saint Pourſaint,—a town of Auvergne.

‖ Marcilly les Nonnains,—a village in Berry, election of la Charité.

¶ La Charité,—a town in the Nivernois.

in ſafety towards the city of Nevers, which was five leagues diſtant.

The Engliſh, Navarrois and Gaſcons, who had entered the town, upon day appearing, marched forwards, but found all the houſes empty. Upon this, they called a council, to conſider if they ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the town and fortify it; for it would be very convenient for them, as a place of ſtrength, to atack each ſide of the Loire.

They ſent to inform the lord Lewis de Navarre of their ſituation, who was at that time in Auvergne, and who immediately diſpatched to them ſir Robert Briquet, with three hundred armed men. They croſſed the country without moleſtation, and entered the town of la Charité, by the bridge over the Loire. When they were thus aſſembled together, they were in ſuch force, they began to make grievous war upon the kingdom of France.

We will return to the duke of Burgundy, whom we left beſieging Marcheville. He had done ſo much by his machines and by his aſſaults, that the garriſon ſurrendered upon having their lives and fortunes ſpared. The duke ſent the lord de Boucicaut, and the lord John de Vienne, marſhal of Burgundy, to take poſſeſſion of it. He gave the caſtle to a ſquire of Beauce, called William de Chartres, and forty men to guard it. The duke then led his army to the caſtle of Camerolles, which he ſurrounded, for it is ſituated in the flat country.

It is time to ſay ſomething of the lord John de la Riviere, who was beſieging Acquigni, near to Paſſy, in the county of Evreux. He had under him

two

two thouſand good combatants; for he was ſo great a favorite with the king that he managed the finances according to his pleaſure.

This caſtle of Acquigni was garriſoned by Engliſh, Normans, French and Navarrois, who had fled thither after the battle of Cocherel. They defended themſelves well, and were amply provided with artillery and proviſion. Notwithſtanding this, matters were ſo well managed, that they ſurrendered upon having their lives and fortunes ſpared, and carried their property with them to Cherbourg, whither they retired. The lord John placed a new garriſon in the caſtle, and marched toward the city of Evreux.

Under his command, were ſir Hugh de Châtillon, the lord of Sanny, the lord Louis de Sancerre, ſir Matthew de Roye, the lord of Monfang, the lord of Eloy, the lord of Crequi, the lord of Campy, ſir Odoart de Renti, ſir Enguerrand de Hêdin, and many other knights and ſquires of France.

In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy preſſed ſo hard upon the garriſon of Camerolles, that they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. All the foreign ſoldiers were pardoned; but ſome French pillagers, who had taken refuge there, were put to death.

Some of the principal burgeſſes of Chartres came to the duke's camp, to intreat of him to give them the caſtle of Camerolles, as a recompenſe for the uſe of their machines; for it had done them much harm in former times. The duke conſented to their

requeſt; and immediately they ſent workmen, who levelled the caſtle with the ground.

The duke marched next to a caſtle called Drue, which is ſituated in the plains of Beauce, and was in the poſſeſſion of pillagers. He took it by ſtorm, and killed all that were found in it. He then halted before a caſtle called Preux, and ſurrounded it on all ſides. He made many an aſſault, in hopes of carrying it; but at laſt the garriſon ſurrendered on having their lives ſpared: they carried nothing with them: but all the French remained priſoners at the duke's will.

The duke ordered the caſtle to be taken poſſeſſion of by his marſhals, and made a preſent of it to a knight of Beauce, called ſir Peter du Bois, in order that he might ſufficiently guard and repair it. The duke, and the greater part of his army, went after this to Chartres, to refreſh themſelves.

When he had been there five or ſix days, he ſet out to beſiege the caſtle of Connie *, which had done much miſchief to all the country round, and pointed againſt it ſix large machines.

During the time theſe ſieges, aſſaults and conqueſts were going forward in Beauce and Normandy, the lord Lewis de Navarre was overrunning Auvergne. He kept the field, and impoveriſhed the whole country; for no one went forth againſt him. Thoſe alſo who were at la Charité upon the Loire did in thoſe parts juſt what they pleaſed.

* Connie,—a village in Beauce, election of Châteaudun.

On

On the other hand, the earl of Montbeliart, with ſome allies from Germany, had entered the duchy of Burgundy, near Beſançon, and was deſpoiling it. On which account, the king of France ordered the duke of Burgundy to raiſe the ſiege of Connie, and come to Paris; for it was neceſſary that he ſhould go into Burgundy.

The duke, on receiving this news, was very penſive; for he had publiçly declared, that he would never depart from Connie until he had ſubjected it to his will. But thoſe of his council made him underſtand, that ſince the king, who had ſent him thither, ordered him to return, he might very well leave the place without diſgrace. Thoſe in Connie had no information whatever reſpecting this: they were, therefore ſummoned by the marſhals to ſurrender unconditionally, which they refuſed. They ſaid, they were willing to ſurrender, on having their lives and fortunes ſpared. Theſe terms were then agreed upon. The duke gave the caſtle to a ſquire of Beauce, whoſe name was Philip d'Arcieres, who repaired it, and garriſoned it with good and truſty men.

The duke went to Chartres, and then gave up the command of the greater diviſion of his army to the earl of Auxerre, Boucicaut and the lord Louis de Sancerre. He ſet out for Paris, taking with him the lord Louis d'Alençon, the lord of Beaujeu, and the lord of Vienne. He ordered the Burgundians to march towards Burgundy as ſpeedily as poſſible. But the duke himſelf went to meet the king, who was at that time at Vaux la Comteſſe in Brie. He re-

remained but one day there, and then ſet out for Troyes in Champagne; whence he took the road to Langres, ſending every where for men at arms. The Burgundians were already collected, and drawn out as a frontier to their enemies: the archprieſt, the lord of Château Vilain, the lord of Vergey, the lord of Grancy, the lord of Soubournon, the lord of Rougemont, and a very rich man called John of Boulogne, the lord of Priſes, ſir Hugh de Vienne, the lord du Châtel, the biſhop of Langres, and ſeveral more, who were all mightily rejoiced on the arrival of their lord the duke.

They immediately marched againſt their enemies, who were full fifteen hundred lances; but they retreated acroſs the Rhine. Upon which, the Burgundians entered the county of Montbelliard, and burnt the greater part of it.

CHAP. CCXXIII.

KING CHARLES ORDERS THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TO BESIEGE LA CHARITE.—HE WANTS IT TO SURRENDER UNCONDITIONALLY, THAT HE MAY SEND ASSISTANCE TO LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS, WHO IS CONTESTING THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY WITH THE EARL OF MONTFORT.

IN the interim, the king of France ſent his conſtable, the lord Moreau de Fiennes, and two marſhals, the lord de Boucicaut and John de Mauquerchi, lord of Blainville, accompanied by many knights and ſquires, to beſiege la Charité upon the Loire.

Loire. On their arrival, they attacked it on one ſide, and every day had ſkirmiſhes with the garriſon of the place.

When the duke of Burgundy and the greater part of his troops, who had accompanied him into the county of Montbelliard, were returned to Paris, the king ſent him, with upwards of a thouſand lances, to la Charité.

There were then at that ſiege three thouſand knights and ſquires, of whom many went every day to ſkirmiſh with the garriſon; when ſeveral were killed and wounded on both ſides.

At a ſally which the garriſon made, the lord Robert of Alençon, ſon of the earl of Alençon, who was killed at Crecy, and the lord Louis d'Auxerre, who was ſon of the earl of Auxerre, and brother to the earl of Auxerre, then preſent, were knighted, and diſplayed their banners.

The inhabitants of la Charité were very hard preſſed, and would willingly have ſurrendered upon terms; but the duke was reſolved to have them unconditionally, and for that reaſon had guarded the river ſo that no proviſion could enter the town.

During this time, the lord Lewis de Navarre, who was deſtroying every thing before him in the country of Auvergne, exerted himſelf much, and aſſembled a ſufficient body of men to enable him to raiſe the ſiege of la Charité: he had collected two thouſand combatants at the leaſt, and had alſo ſent into Brittany to requeſt that ſir Robert Knolles, ſir Walter Huet, ſir Matthew Gournay, and ſeveral other knights and ſquires, would haſten to his aſſiſtance. They would have complied cheerfully; but

but at the time they were engaged with the earl of Montfort, beſieging the caſtle of Auray *, who had ſworn he would not depart until it had ſubmitted to his pleaſure.

When the lord Lewis found he could not have their aid, he retreated, by the orders of his brother, toward Cherbourg. Upon which, the king of France, that the lord Charles de Blois might have more men at arms, commanded the duke of Burgundy to treat with the garriſon for their ſurrendering the town and fort, on condition of not bearing arms for the king of Navarre during three years. The garriſon complied with theſe terms, ſurrendered la Charité, took nothing with them, and marched out on foot: they paſſed through the kingdom of France under paſſports of the duke of Burgundy. The old inhabitants of la Charité now returned back to it, having been forced to reſide in other places. The duke went to Paris.

After this, the king of France granted permiſſion for his couſin the lord Charles de Blois, to raiſe in his kingdom a thouſand lances. He again wrote to ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, who at the time was in Normandy, to march to the aſſiſtance of the lord Charles, againſt the earl of Montfort.

Theſe orders gave ſir Bertrand great pleaſure, for he had always conſidered the lord Charles as his natural lord. He ſet out therefore, from Normandy with all the troops that were under him, and

* Auray,—a ſea-port in Brittany, dioceſe of Vannes. One of my MSS. ſays, it was founded by Arthur.

marched

marched through Tours, in his way to Brittany. The lord de Boucicaut went to guard Normandy in his place.

Sir Bertrand continued his march until he came to Nantes, where he met the lord Charles de Blois and his lady. They received him very kindly, and thanked him much for coming to their aſſiſtance. They had then a long conference, upon what was to be done; for they were in the beſt parts of Brittany, which were much attached to the lord Charles de Blois, as their duke and lord, and willing to ſupport him. They conferred alſo on the means of raiſing the ſiege of Auray, and fighting with the lord John de Montfort.

Within a very ſhort time, many barons and knights came thither from France and Normandy: among whom were the earl of Auxerre, the earl of Joigny, the lord de Franville, the lord de Prie, le Bègue de Villaines, and many other knights and ſquires, all of the right ſort, and good men at arms.

News was brought to the lord John de Montfort, at that time beſieging Auray, that the lord Charles de Blois was aſſembling large bodies of men; that a number of the lords of France had come to him, and were daily arriving, to aſſiſt him, in conjunction with thoſe barons, knights and ſquires of Brittany who had remained ſteady to his intereſt.

As ſoon as lord John heard this, he made it known in the duchy of Acquitaine to the knights and ſquires of England who were there, and in particular to ſir John Chandos, earneſtly intreating them to come to his aid in the difficulties he was

about to encounter; adding, that he expected Brittany would afford ſuch a field of honor, that all knights and ſquires who were deſirous of advancing their name ought moſt cheerfully to come thither.

When ſir John Chandos ſaw himſelf thus affectionately intreated by the earl of Montfort, he ſpoke of it to the prince of Wales, to know how he ſhould act. The prince ſaid, he might go there without any blame, ſince the French had already taken part againſt the earl, in ſupport of the lord Charles; and he adviſed him to accept the invitation.

Sir John Chandos was much rejoiced at this, and made accordingly grand preparations. He aſked ſeveral knights and ſquires of Acquitaine to accompany him; but few went except the Engliſh. However, he conducted full two hundred lances, and as many archers, and marching through Poitou and Saintonge, entered Brittany. He went ſtraight to the ſiege of Auray, where he found the earl of Montfort, who was very happy at his arrival; as were ſir Oliver de Cliſſon, ſir Robert Knolles and the other companions. It ſeemed to them, that now no evil could befal them, ſince ſir John Chandos was in their company.

Many knights and ſquires croſſed the ſea in haſte from England, eager to advance their fortunes, and to fight with the French. They came to the aid of the earl of Montfort, before Auray, who received them all with great joy. They were therefore in all, as well Bretons as Engliſh, when muſtered, ſixteen hundred men at arms, and from eight to nine hundred archers.

We

We will now return to the lord Charles de Blois, who remained in the good city of Nantes, and made there his muſters of knights and ſquires from all parts; for he had been informed that the earl of Montfort had been ſtrongly reinforced by the Engliſh. He therefore intreated thoſe barons, knights and ſquires whoſe homage he had received, to aſſiſt him in guarding his inheritance, and in defending him againſt his enemies.

Among the barons of Brittany who came to ſerve him, in obedience to his ſummons, were the viſcount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, Charles de Dinan, de Rieux, de Tournemine, d'Ancenis, de Maleſtroit, de Quentin, d'Avaugour, de Lohéac, du Pont, and many others whom I cannot name. Theſe lords and their companies were quartered in the city of Nantes, and in the villages around it.

When they were muſtered, they were eſtimated at two thouſand five hundred lances, including thoſe who had come from France. Theſe lords did not wiſh to make any long ſtay, but adviſed the lord Charles to march againſt his enemies.

When the lord Charles was about to ſet out, and was taking leave of the lady his wife, ſhe ſaid to him, in the preſence of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin and ſome of the barons of Brittany; 'My lord, you are going to defend your inheritance and mine (for that which is mine is yours *), which the lord John de

* 'Johanna, counteſs of Penthièvre, born 1319, was made heireſs of Brittany by her uncle, John III. who, to ſtrengthen her

de Montfort has ſeized, and has kept for a long time moſt wrongfully, without any right, as God knows. The barons of Brittany, who are here preſent, know well that I am the rightful heireſs of it. I therefore moſt earneſtly beg and intreat of you, that you will not liſten to any treaty, or compoſition, which may be offered, ſo that the whole body of the duchy may be ours.' The lord Charles promiſed to comply with her requeſt.

All the lords, knights and barons, who were at Nantes departed, each having bid adieu to his lady, whom he conſidered as his ducheſs. They began their march, and took the road to Rennes *, where, on their arrival, they were quartered, and in its environs. They halted there to repoſe and refreſh themſelves, as well as to learn the numbers and countenance of their enemies, and to conſider of the beſt place to offer battle, in caſe they ſhould not be able to find a ſituation which might give them an advantage. Many fine ſpeeches and harangues were made by the knights and ſquires of France and of Brittany, who had come to the ſuccour of the

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her title, gave her in marriage to Charles de Blois, lord of Guyſe and Mayenne, nephew of Philip IV. king of France.

'When the earl of Montfort gained the dukedom, and held it from the crown of France, he engaged to give Johanna lands that ſhould yield her 20,000 francs yearly, beſides Penthievre and Limoges.'—ANDERSON.

* Rennes. I believe, with Denys Sauvage, it ſhould be Vannes, conſiſtently with what follows; but it is Rennes in all my printed editions and MSS. and alſo in the Hiſtoire de Bretagne.

lord

lord Charles de Blois. Lord Charles was very courteous and polite, and perhaps would willingly have liſtened to terms of peace, and been contented with a part of Brittany, without much wrangling; but he was, in God's name, ſo hard preſſed by the laſt words of the lady his wife, and the knights of his party, that he could neither draw back nor diſſemble.

CHAP. CCXXIV.

THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS ADVANCES AGAINST THE EARL OF MONTFORT IN ORDER OF BATTLE. SIR JOHN CHANDOS, AFTER HAVING DRAWN UP THE BATTALIONS OF THE EARL OF MONTFORT, PREVENTS THE TREATY FROM TAKING PLACE WHICH THE LORD DE BEAUMANOIR WAS NEGOTIATING BETWEEN THE TWO PRETENDERS TO THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY.

BETWEEN Vannes and Auray, where the earl of Montfort was encamped, there are eight country leagues; ſo that news was ſoon brought to him that the lord Charles was advancing, with the fineſt body of men at arms, the handſomeſt equipped and the beſt ordered that had ever left France. This intelligence gave great joy to the Engliſh who were there; for they were eager for the fight. Theſe companions, therefore, immediately ſet about putting their armour in good repair, and refurbiſhing their lances, daggers, battle-axes, coats of mail, helmets, ſcull-caps, viſors, ſwords and all

ſorts of weapons, as they well imagined they ſhould ſoon have uſe for them.

The commanders of the army then waited on the earl of Montfort; firſt ſir John Chandos (whoſe advice he meant in particular to follow), ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, ſir Robert Knolles, ſir Hugh Caverly*, ſir Matthew Gournay†. Theſe knights and barons, having deliberated on their preſent ſituation, reſolved that it would be moſt advantageous to quit their quarters early in the morning, and take the field. They might then conſider on the beſt mode of acting againſt the enemy, when they ſhould have had more exact information concerning them. Orders were therefore given, that the whole army ſhould, on the following morning, be ready armed and in battle-array, as if they were immediately to begin the engagement.

This night paſſed quietly. On the morrow, which was a Saturday, the Engliſh and Bretons iſſued forth from their quarters, marching gaily in order of battle, to the rear of the caſtle of Auray, where they halted, and, having choſen a ſituation, declared they would wait there the coming of their enemies.

Almoſt immediately after day-break, the lord

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* Sir Hugh Caverly. Q. if it be not ſir Hugh Colville, eques auratus, conſtituted admiral of England (Fauſtina, e. 14. of the Cotton MSS.) Sept. 11. anno 2 Ric. II. Otho E. 9 —Brie's Campaign of Edward III.

† Sir Matthew de Gournay. See more of him in the ſecond volume of Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, page 20. He died at the age of 96.

Charles

Charles and his army appeared. They had marched on the Friday after dinner from Vannes, and had reſted that night three ſmall leagues diſtant from Auray. The troops of the lord Charles were in the beſt and handſomeſt order, and drawn up in the moſt brilliant manner that could be ſeen or imagined. They marched in ſuch cloſe order that one could not throw a tennis ball among them, but it muſt have ſtruck upon the points of ſome of their lances, ſo ſtiffly did they carry them. The Engliſh took great pleaſure in looking at them.

The French halted in this order in front of their enemies, and took their ground on an extenſive heath. Their marſhals gave ſtrict charge that no one ſhould quit his ranks without orders, and that there ſhould be no tilting, juſts or aſſaults. The men at arms, having halted, formed their line of battle, and made preparations for an immediate combat, as they expected nothing leſs, and were very deſirous of it.

The lord Charles de Blois, by the advice of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin (who was a great captain, and much praiſed and confided in by the Bretons) formed his army again. He divided it into three battalions and a rear-guard. It ſeems to me, that ſir Bertrand had the command of the firſt; and with him were numbers of knights and ſquires of Brittany. The earl of Auxerre had the ſecond, with the earl of Joigny and many knights and ſquires from France. The third and largeſt battalion was commanded by the lord Charles himſelf: under him were the principal lords of Brittany; among

whom were the viſcount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, d'Avaugour, Charles de Dinan, d'Ancenis, de Maleſtroit and ſeveral others. In the rear-guard were, the lords de Raix, de Rieux, de Tournemine, du Pont, and many good knights and ſquires. Each of theſe battalions was compoſed of a thouſand men.

The lord Charles de Blois entreated every one in the faireſt manner, that they would loyally and diſcreetly aſſiſt him. He ſwore, upon his ſoul, and his hopes of Paradiſe, that it was for a juſt and right cauſe they were going to engage. He aſſured each, that, if they acquitted themſelves well, he ſhould feel himſelf ever obliged to them.

We muſt now ſpeak of the diſpoſitions of the Engliſh and Bretons, and in what manner they drew up their army. You firſt muſt underſtand that, though the earl of Montfort was the commander in chief, yet it was under the ſole direction of ſir John Chandos: for the king of England had thus ſettled it with the earl of Montfort. He had alſo ordered ſir John Chandos to have eſpecial regard to whatever concerned the intereſts of his ſon-in-law; for the earl of Montfort had received one of the king's daughters* in marriage.

In obedience to ſuch orders, ſir John Chandos advanced before the knights and ſquires of Brittany who were about the perſon of the earl of Montfort, and having well conſidered the diſpoſitions of the French in his own mind, thought ſo highly of them,

* The Princeſs Mary.

he

he could not remain ſilent, but ſaid; 'As God is my help, it appears to me that all the flower and honor of chivalry is there, moſt wiſely and expertly drawn up.' He then added aloud to thoſe knights who were within hearing; 'Gentlemen, it is time that we form our line of battle; for the enemy have ſet us the example.' Thoſe who heard him replied; 'Sir, you ſay truly; and, as you are our commander, you will form us according to your wiſh; for there is none higher than yourſelf to look to, and you know much better than any one how to order ſuch things.'

Sir John Chandos formed three battalions and a rear-guard. He placed over the firſt, ſir Robert Knolles, ſir Walter Huet and ſir Richard Burley*. The ſecond battalion was under the command of ſir Olivier de Cliſſon†, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt and ſir Matthew Gournay.—The earl of Montfort had the third, which was to remain near his perſon. There were in each battalion five hundred men at arms, and four hundred archers. When he came to the rear-guard, he called ſir Hugh Caverly to him, and ſaid: 'Sir Hugh, you will take the command of the rear-

* Sir Richard Burley—was nephew of ſir Simon Burley, knight of the Garter, who was beheaded early in Richard II's reign.—*Gough's Sep. Mon.* Vol. i. p. 150.

† Sir Olivier de Cliſſon. Dom Morice, in his Hiſtoire de la Bretagne, ſays 'that this Olivier de Cliſſon was not the nephew of Walter de Cliſſon, who was killed, 1341, at the ſiege of Chateauceau, but ſeems to have been the 'veritable ſeigneur de Cliſſon.'—Vol. i. p. 148.

guard of five hundred men, and keep on our wing, without moving one ſtep, whatever may happen, unleſs you ſhall ſee an abſolute neceſſity for it; ſuch as our battalions giving way, or being by accident broken: in that caſe, you will haſten to ſuccour thoſe who are giving way, or who may be in diſorder: and aſſure yourſelf, you cannot this day do a more meritorious ſervice.'

When ſir Hugh heard ſir John Chandos give him theſe orders, he was much hurt and angry with him, and ſaid; 'Sir John, ſir John, give the command of this rear-guard to ſome other; for I do not wiſh to be troubled with it;' and then added, 'Sir knight, for what manner of reaſon have you thus provided for me? and why am not I as fit and proper to take my poſt in the front-rank as others?'

Sir John diſcreetly anſwered; 'Sir Hugh, I did not place you with the rear-guard becauſe you were not as good a knight as any of us; for, in truth, I know that you are equally valiant with the beſt; but I ordered you to that poſt, becauſe I know you are both bold and prudent, and that it is abſolutely neceſſary for you or me to take that command. I therefore moſt earneſtly entreat it of you; for, if you will do ſo, we ſhall all be the better for it; and you yourſelf will acquire great honor: in addition, I promiſe to comply with the firſt requeſt you may make me.'

Notwithſtanding this handſome ſpeech of ſir John Chandos, ſir Hugh refuſed to comply, conſidering it as a great affront offered him, and entreated, through the love of God, with uplifted hands,

that

that he would order ſome other to that command; for, in fact, he was anxious to enter the battle with the firſt.

This conduct nearly brought tears to the eyes of ſir John. He again addreſſed him, gently ſaying; 'Sir Hugh, it is abſolutely neceſſary that either you or I take this command: now, conſider which can be moſt ſpared.'

Sir Hugh, having conſidered this laſt ſpeech, was much confuſed, and replied; 'Certainly, ſir, I know full well that you would aſk nothing from me which could turn out to my diſhonour; and, ſince it is ſo, I will very cheerfully undertake it.'

Sir Hugh Caverly then took the command of the battalion called the rear-guard, entered the field in the rear, on the wing of the others, and formed his line.

It was on Saturday the 8th day of October, 1364, that theſe battalions were drawn up facing each other, in a handſome plain, near to Auray in Brittany. I muſt ſay, it was a fine thing to ſee and reflect on; for there were banners and pennons flying, with the richeſt armour on each ſide: the French were ſo handſomely and grandly drawn up, it was great pleaſure to look at them.

Whilſt either party was forming or dividing its battalions, the lord of Beaumanoir, a very great and rich baron of Brittany, was going to and from each army, with propoſitions for peace. Very willingly would he have laboured, if he had been able, to ward off the perils that were on the point of happening. He was earneſt in the buſineſs: and the

Engliſh and Bretons on the ſide of Montfort, allowed him to paſs and repaſs, to parley with ſir John Chandos, and the earl of Montfort, although he had pledged his honor, as a priſoner, and therefore could not bear arms againſt them.

This ſame Saturday, he brought many propoſals, in hopes to make a peace; of which, however, none ſucceeded: he was occupied with one party or the other until noon. He nevertheleſs obtained, through his good ſenſe, a truce between the two armies for this day and the following night, until the morrow at ſun-riſe. Each army retreated to their quarters, and refreſhed themſelves with what they had.

During the time the truce laſted, the governor of the caſtle of Auray came out of it, on Saturday night, and went peaceably to the army of the lord Charles de Blois, who graciouſly received him. The name of the governor was Henry de Hauternelle, a very expert warrior, who brought with him forty lances, good companions, well armed and well mounted, who had aided him in guarding that fortreſs.

When the lord Charles ſaw the governor, he aſked him, laughingly, the ſtate of the caſtle. 'In God's name,' replied the ſquire, 'and praiſe be to him, we are ſtill ſufficiently provided with every thing for two or three months, ſhould there be occaſion.' 'Henry, Henry,' anſwered lord Charles, 'to-morrow by day-break, you ſhall be made free in every reſpect, either by a treaty of peace or by a battle.' 'My lord,' replied the ſquire, 'God grant us his aſſiſtance.' 'By my faith, Henry,' ſaid

ſaid the lord Charles, 'I have under my command two thouſand men at arms, of as good ſtuff, and as much inclined to acquit themſelves well, as there are in the kingdom of France.' 'My lord,' anſwered this ſquire, 'this is a great advantage: you ſhould therefore praiſe God, and thank him moſt gratefully: likewiſe ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, and the barons of France and Brittany, who have come ſo courteouſly to your aſſiſtance.'

Thus the lord Charles amuſed himſelf in converſation with ſir Henry, and with one or another, and paſſed the night much at his eaſe.

In the courſe of this evening, ſome Engliſh knights and ſquires earneſtly begged of ſir John Chandos, that he would not liſten to any overtures of peace between the earl of Montfort and lord Charles de Blois; for they had expended their whole fortune, and were ſo poor, that they hoped by means of a battle either to loſe their all or to ſet themſelves up again. The knight aſſented to their requeſt.

When Sunday morning came, each army made itſelf ready, and armed. Many maſſes were ſaid in that of lord Charles, and the ſacrament was adminiſtered to all who wiſhed it. The ſame was done in the army of the earl of Montfort: and, a little before ſun-riſe, each perſon poſted himſelf in the ſame battle-array as on the preceding day.

Shortly after, the lord de Beaumanoir, who had prepared different propoſals for peace, and who would willingly have brought them to ſome agreement, had he been able, returned to the charge, and came galloping towards ſir John Chandos, who left

left his battalion and the earl of Montfort, at the time with him, as ſoon as he perceived his intentions, and advanced into the plain to meet him.

When the lord de Beaumanoir came up, he ſaluted him very humbly, and ſaid; 'I intreat of you, ſir John Chandos, in the name of God, that we may bring theſe two lords to ſome agreement; for it is a great pity that ſo many good perſons who are here ſhould ſlaughter each other in ſupport of their opinions.'

Sir John Chandos gave him a very different anſwer than he expected from what had paſſed on the preceding evening. 'Lord de Beaumanoir, I would adviſe you not to make any more attempts at peace to-day; for our men declare that, if they can incloſe you within their ranks, they will kill you. You will ſay to lord Charles de Blois, that happen what may, the lord John de Montfort is determined to riſk the event of a combat. Have done, therefore, with all ideas of peace or agreements; for he will this day be duke of Brittany, or die in the field.'

When the lord de Beaumanoir had received this anſwer from Chandos, he was mightily enraged, and replied; 'Chandos, Chandos, that is not leſs the intention of my lord, who has as good a will to fight as the lord John de Montfort: his army are alſo of the ſame mind.'

At theſe words, he ſet off without ſaying any thing more, and went to lord Charles and the barons of Brittany, who were waiting for him.

Sir

Sir John Chandos returned to the earl of Montfort, who aſked, 'How goes on the treaty? What does our adverſary ſay?' 'What does he ſay?' replied Chandos: 'why, he ſends word by the lord de Beaumanoir, who has this inſtant left me, that he will fight with you at all events, and remain duke of Brittany, or die in the field.' This anſwer was made by ſir John, in order to excite the courage of the earl of Montfort; and he continued, ſaying, 'Now, conſider what you will determine to do, whether to engage or not.' 'By St. George,' anſwered the earl of Montfort, 'engage I will, and God aſſiſt the right cauſe: order our banners to advance immediately.'

With regard to the lord de Beaumanoir, he ſaid to lord Charles de Blois; 'My lord, my lord, by St. Ives, I have heard the proudeſt ſpeech from John Chandos that my ears have liſtened to for a long time: he has juſt aſſured me, that the earl of Montfort ſhall remain duke of Brittany, and will clearly ſhew to you that you have not any right to it.' Theſe words brought the colour into lord Charles's cheeks; when he anſwered, 'Let God ſettle the right, for he knows to whom it belongs;' and thus ſaid all the barons of Brittany. He then ordered his banners and men at arms to march, in the name of God and St. Ives.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCXXV.

THE BATTLE OF AURAY, IN WHICH SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER.—CHARLES DE BLOIS IS SLAIN; AND JOHN DE MONTFORT IS VICTORIOUS.

A LITTLE before eight in the morning, the two armies advanced near to each other. It was a very fine ſight, as I have heard thoſe relate who ſaw it; for the French were in ſuch cloſe order that one could ſcarcely throw an apple among them, without its falling on a helmet or lance. Each man at arms carried his ſpear right before him, cut down to the length of five feet; a battle-axe, ſharp, ſtrong and well ſteeled, with a ſhort handle, was at his ſide, or hung from his neck. They advanced thus handſomely a foot's pace, each lord in array and among his people, with his banner or pennon before him, well knowing what they were to do.

On the other hand, the Engliſh were drawn up in the handſomeſt order.

The Bretons, under the command of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, poſted themſelves with his banner oppoſite to the battalion of ſir Robert Knolles and ſir Walter Huet. The Bretons of either party placed the banners of their two lords, who was each called duke, oppoſite to the other.

In this firſt onſet, there were hard blows between the lancemen, and a ſharp ſcuffle. True it is, that the Engliſh archers ſhot well at the commencement; but

but their arrows hurt not, as the French were too well armed and ſhielded from them. Upon this, they flung away their bows; and, being light and able men, they mixed with the men at arms of their party, and attacked thoſe of the French who had battle-axes. Being men of addreſs and courage, they immediately ſeized ſeveral of theſe axes, with which they afterwards fought valiantly and ſucceſsfully.

There were many gallant feats of arms performed; many a ſtruggle, many a capture and many a reſcue. You muſt know, that whoever had the misfortune to fall, found great difficulty to riſe again, unleſs he was ſpeedily ſuccoured.

The battalion of lord Charles marched ſtraight to that of lord John de Montfort, which was very ſtrong and deep. In his company were, the viſcount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, Charles de Dinan, de Quintin, d'Ancenis and de Rochefort, each with his banner diſplayed before him.

The engagement between theſe two battalions was very ſevere and deſperate, and well fought on both ſides. That of the earl of Montfort was at firſt thrown into confuſion; but ſir Hugh Caverly, who was upon its wing with a good battalion of gallant men, perceiving them giving way and opening their ranks, drove the enemy back, and replaced every thing by force of arms. This action was certainly of great uſe to them.

In another part of the plain, ſir Olivier de Cliſſon, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, ſir Matthew Gournay, and ſeveral other valiant knights and ſquires, fought valo-

valorouſly with the battalion of the earls of Auxerre and Joigny, which was very numerous and deep, and crowded with ſeveral able men at arms.

Many bold actions were performed on both ſides: priſoners and reſcues were frequent. The French and Bretons fought in earneſt with their battle-axes. The lord Charles ſhewed himſelf a marvellouſly good knight, eagerly ſeeking for and engaging his enemies. His adverſary, the earl of Montfort, fought with equal gallantry: and each perſon ſpoke of them according to their deſerts.

Sir John Chandos proved himſelf more able than his opponents; for he was at the ſame time bold and hardy, redoubted by his adverſaries in battle, as well as wiſe and diſcreet in council, giving the cleareſt orders. He adviſed the earl in every thing, and, in order to animate him and his people, ſaid to them, 'Do ſo and ſo: march to this ſide, or to that.' The young earl of Montfort believed all he ſaid, and followed his advice.

In another part, ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, the lords du Pont, de Tournemine, d'Avaugour, de Raix, de Loheac, de Maleſtroit, du Prie, and many other able knights and ſquires of Brittany and Normandy, who were there on the ſide of the lord Charles, fought very determinedly, and did many handſome deeds of arms. The battle was ſo warmly conteſted that all the battalions were engaged, except the rear-guard of the Engliſh, which ſir Hugh Caverly commanded. This battalion kept always on one wing, and never engaged with any, but was ſolely occupied in recovering and bringing

bringing back to their ranks thoſe who were thrown into confuſion.

Among other knights, ſir Olivier de Cliſſon played his part handſomely, and did marvels with his battle-axe, by which he opened and cut through the ranks, ſo that none dared to approach him. Once, indeed, his eagerneſs brought him into great peril; for he advanced ſo forward that he had the battalion of the earls of Auxerre and Joigny upon him, and had hard work to extricate himſelf. He received in this affair a ſtroke of a battle-axe which ſtruck off the viſor of his helmet; and its point entered his eye, which he afterwards loſt. He was not however, for this, a leſs gallant knight during the whole of the day.

Battalions and banners ruſhed againſt each other, and ſometimes were overthrown, and then up again. Among the knights, ſir John Chandos ſhewed his ability, valorouſly fighting with his battle-axe: he gave ſuch deſperate blows, that all avoided him; for he was of great ſtature and ſtrength, well made in all his limbs. He advanced to attack the battalion of the earl of Auxerre and the French. Many bold actions were performed; and, through the courage of himſelf and people, he drove this battalion before him, and threw it into ſuch diſorder that, in brief, it was diſcomfited. All their banners and pennons were thrown on the ground, torn and broken: their lords and captains were in the greateſt danger; for they were not ſuccoured by any, their people being fully engaged in fighting and defending themſelves.

To ſpeak truly, when once an army is diſcomfited, thoſe who are defeated are ſo much frightened, that if one fall, three follow his example, and to theſe three ten, and to ten thirty; and alſo, ſhould ten run away, they will be followed by a hundred. Thus it was at the battle of Auray.

Theſe lords ſhouted again and again their cries of war, as well as their banner-bearers, which ſome who heard them anſwered; but others were too much in the rear, and from the greatneſs of the crowd could not advance, ſo that the earl of Auxerre was deſperately wounded, and taken, under the pennon of ſir John Chandos: he gave his pledge as a priſoner, as well as the earl of Joigny and the lord de Prie, a great banneret in Normandy.

The other battalions fought very valiantly, and the Bretons made a good appearance ſtill. It muſt however, to ſpeak loyally of this battle, be allowed, that they did not keep their line nor array (as it ſeemed) like the Engliſh and Bretons on the ſide of Montfort. The wing commanded by ſir Hugh Caverly was to them, in this battle, of the greateſt advantage.

When the Engliſh and Bretons of the Montfort party perceived the French to be in confuſion, they were much rejoiced. Some of the French had their horſes got ready, which they mounted, and began to fly as faſt as they could.

Sir John Chandos then advanced with a part of his company, and made for the battalion of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, where many courageous

deeds were doing; but it had been already broken, and ſeveral good knights and ſquires ſlain. Many a hard blow was given by the battle-axes, and many a helmet opened, ſo that ſeveral were wounded and killed. To ſay the truth, neither ſir Bertrand nor his people were able to withſtand the ſtrength of their adverſaries.

Sir Bertrand was made priſoner by an Engliſh ſquire, under the pennon of ſir John Chandos. In this conflict, ſir John received the pledge as priſoner, from a baron of Brittany called the lord of Raix, a wonderfully hardy knight. After this, the Bretons and their battalion being broken, were as good as defeated: the others being in diſorder, took to flight, each in the beſt way he could to ſave himſelf, except ſome good knights and ſquires of Brittany, who would not quit their ſovereign, the lord Charles de Blois preferring death to reproach. They collected themſelves together, and rallied round him, fighting valiantly. The lord Charles and his companions kept their ground a long time, by their valour in defending themſelves: at laſt, however, it was of no avail, for they were defeated and put to the rout by numbers; for the whole ſtrength of the Engliſh was drawing towards them.

The banner of the lord Charles was conquered, caſt to the ground, and the bearer of it ſlain: he himſelf was alſo killed facing his enemies, as well as a baſtard of his, called the lord John de Blois, with many other knights and ſquires of Brittany.

It appears to me, that orders had been given to the Engliſh army, that if they ſhould gain the battle,

and the lord Charles were found or made priſoner, no ranſom ſhould be taken for him, but that they ſhould kill him. In a ſimilar caſe, the French and Bretons had given the like orders reſpecting the lord John de Montfort; for in this day each party wiſhed, by battle, to put an end to the war.

When a purſuit took place, great ſlaughter and many miſchiefs happened, and ſeveral good men were killed or made priſoners. The whole flower of chivalry, who had that day taken the ſide of lord Charles de Blois were either priſoners or ſlain, particularly the bannerets of Brittany. Among the dead, lay the lord Charles de Dinan, the lords de Léon, d'Ancenis, d'Avaugour, de Lohéac, de Gargolle, de Maleſtroit, du Pont, and many whoſe names I cannot remember. There were made priſoners, the viſcount de Roban, ſir Guy de Léon, the lords de Rochefort, de Raix, de Rieux, de Tournemine, ſir Henry de Maleſtroit, ſir Olivier de Mauny, the lords de Riville, de Franville, de Raineval, with ſeveral from Normandy, and many good nights and ſquires from France, with the earls of Auxerre and Joigny. In a word the defeat and loſs were immenſe: numbers were ſlain in the field, as well as in the purſuit, which continued for eight good leagues, even as far as Vannes.

A variety of accidents happened this day which have never come to my knowledge, and many a man was killed or made priſoner. Some fell into good hands, where they met with kind and civil maſters.

This battle was fought near to Auray, in the year of our Lord 1364.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCXXVI.

THE CHIEFS ATTACHED TO THE EARL OF MONTFORT RETIRE AFTER THE VICTORY AT AURAY.—THE EARL'S CONDUCT, ON SEEING CHARLES DE BLOIS DEAD.—TRUCES GRANTED FOR BURYING THE SLAIN.—IN WHAT MANNER THE KING OF ENGLAND WAS INFORMED OF THE EVENT OF THIS BATTLE OF AURAY.

AFTER the total defeat of lord Charles's army, when the field of battle was free, and the principal leaders, Engliſh and Bretons, were returned from the purſuit, ſir John Chandos, ſir Robert Knolles, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, ſir Matthew Gournay, ſir John Bourſier *, ſir Walter Huet, ſir Hugh Calverley, ſir Richard Burley, ſir Richard Tancon † and ſeveral others, drawing near to the earl of Montfort, came to a hedge, where they began to diſarm themſelves, knowing the day was theirs. Some of them placed their banners and pennons in this hedge, with the arms of Brittany high above all, in a buſh, as a rallying poſt for their army.

Sir John Chandos, ſir Robert Knolles, ſir Hugh Calverley and others, then approached to the earl of Montfort, and ſaid to him ſmiling; 'My lord, praiſe God, and make good cheer, for this day you have conquered the inheritance of Brittany.' He bowed to them very reſpectfully, and then ſaid,

* Sir John Bourchier.—BARNES.

† Sir Richard Taunton.—BARNES.

loud enough to be heard by all around him; 'Sir John Chandos, it is to your valour and prudence that I am indebted for the good fortune of this day: this I know for a truth, as well as all thoſe who are with me: I beg you will, therefore, refreſh yourſelf out of my cup.' He then extended to him a flagon full of wine, and his cup, out of which he himſelf had juſt drank, adding, 'After God, I owe more thanks to you than to all the reſt of the world.'

As he finiſhed theſe words, the lord de Cliſſon returned, out of breath and very hot. He had purſued the enemy a long way, and had juſt left them, bringing back his men, with a number of priſoners. He advanced directly to the earl of Montfort and the knights who were about him, leaped off his courſer, and refreſhed himſelf with them.

Whilſt they were thus together, two knights and two heralds returned, who had been ſent to examine the dead bodies in the field, to know what was become of the lord Charles de Blois: for they were uncertain if he had been ſlain or not. They cried with a loud voice, 'My lord, be of good cheeer, for we have ſeen your adverſary lord Charles de Blois among the dead.' Upon this, the earl of Montfort roſe up and ſaid, he wiſhed to ſee him himſelf, for that, 'he ſhould have as much pleaſure in ſeeing him dead as alive.' All the knights then preſent accompanied him to the ſpot where he was lying apart from the others, covered by a ſhield, which he ordered to be taken away, and looked at him very ſorrowfully. After having pauſed a while,

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he exclaimed; 'Ha, my lord Charles, ſweet couſin, how much miſchief has happened to Brittany from your having ſupported by arms your pretenſions. God help me, I am truly unhappy at finding you in this ſituation, but at preſent this cannot be amended.' Upon which he burſt into tears.

Sir John Chandos, perceiving this, pulled him by the ſkirt, and ſaid; 'My lord, my lord, let us go away, and return thanks to God for the ſucceſs of the day; for without the death of this perſon, you never would have gained your inheritance of Brittany.'

The earl then ordered that lord Charles's body ſhould be carried to Guingamp*, which was immediately done with great reſpect, and he was moſt honorably interred. This was but his due, as he was a good, loyal and valiant knight.

His body was afterward ſanctified by the grace of God, and venerated as Saint Charles. Pope Urban V. who was the reigning pontiff, approved of it, by canoniſing it; for it performed then, as it does to this day, many miracles†.

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* Guingamp,—a town of Brittany, dioceſe of Treguier.

† This is a miſtake of Froiſſart. There was ſome ſuch intention in the pope's mind, as there are extant letters from him to John duke of Brittany on this ſubject; but, when he underſtood the manner of his death, he was not looked upon as a martyr. He was very angry with thoſe who had given him ſuch honors, without the approbation of the apoſtolic ſee; and, by his letters to the biſhops of Brittany, enjoined them to prohibit ſuch things being done in future.

Barnes' Hiſt. Edw. III. p. 660.

After theſe orders, when the dead were ſtripped, and the victors returned from the purſuit, they all retired to the quarters which they had left that morning. They diſarmed themſelves; and having taken ſome refreſhments, of which they had an ample proviſion, they attended to their priſoners. Thoſe that were wounded were moved and dreſſed: even the ſervants who had ſuffered were well taken care of.

On the Monday morning, the earl of Montfort ſent information to the city of Vannes, and to the neighbouring towns, that he ſhould grant a truce for three days, in order that thoſe ſlain in the battle might be buried in conſecrated ground. This conduct was very pleaſing to all.

The earl of Montfort ſat down before the caſtle of Auray, declaring he would not depart thence until he had poſſeſſion of it. News was ſpread abroad with great celerity, and in different places, that the earl of Montfort, by the help and aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, had gained the victory; that the lord Charles was defeated and ſlain; and that all the knights of Brittany who had ſided with the lord Charles were either taken priſoners or dead.

Sir John Chandos had the whole honor of this battle; for all the knights, lords and ſquires who had been engaged in it declared, that it was ſolely owing to his prudence and proweſs they had gained the day.

The friends and allies of lord Charles were much afflicted at this news, as was natural for them to be: but the king of France was the moſt hurt; for this

defeat

defeat affected him greatly, conſidering that many of the knights of his realm had been made priſoners and killed. Among the firſt, ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, whom he much loved; the earls of Auxerre, of Joigny, and all the barons of Brittany without exception.

The king of France, therefore, ſent his brother the duke of Anjou to the borders of Brittany, to the aſſiſtance of the country, which was much diſtreſſed by the loſs of their lord, Charles de Blois; and to comfort and condole with the ducheſs of Brittany, his widow, who was in the deepeſt affliction. This it was the duty of the duke to do; but he was the more earneſtly engaged in this melancholy taſk, having married her daughter.

He therefore moſt willingly gave his promiſe of advice, aſſiſtance and ſuccour to the large cities, towns, caſtles, and to all the country of Brittany, in which the ducheſs, whom he called his mother, and the whole country, had for a long time great confidence, until the king of France, to avoid all difficulties, made other arrangements, as you ſhall hereafter be informed of.

News of this victory was brought to the king of England; for the earl of Montfort had written to him on the fifth day after the battle of Auray, and ſent the intelligence, with credential letters, by a purſuivant at arms, who had been in the engagement, to the town of Dover. The king of England nominated him his herald, and gave him the name of Windſor, with a handſome preſent of money.

Through this herald, and from ſome knights of both parties, I have been informed of the whole. With regard to the cauſe why the king of England was then at Dover, you ſhall immediately learn.

It is a well-known fact, that propoſals for a marriage between the lord Edmund earl of Cambridge, ſon of the king of England, and the daughter of earl Lewis of Flanders, had been treated of, and different negotiations entered upon three years before *: to which marriage the earl of Flanders had but lately given his conſent; but pope Urban V. was deſirous of diſpenſing him from it, as they were very nearly allied.

The duke of Lancaſter and the lord Edmund his brother, attended by many knights, had been to viſit the earl of Flanders, who received them with every mark of diſtinction; and, to ſhew greater affection and love, he had accompanied them to Calais, and croſſed the ſea to Dover, where the king and part of his council had remained.

When the before-mentioned purſuivant brought to this place the news of the affair at Auray, as it has been told, the king and his barons were much rejoiced at the event; as was alſo the earl of Flanders, on account of the advancement of his couſin-german the earl of Montfort.

* The firſt mention I find in Rymer is dated 7th February 1362,—the ſecond, 20th July 1364,—the third, the articles of marriage, dated 19th October, at Dover, 1364,—the fourth, to poſtpone the day of marriage, Windſor, 18th December 1364.

The

The king of England, the earl of Flanders and the other barons, ſtaid at Dover three days, which were ſpent in feaſts and entertainments. When they indulged in theſe ſufficiently, and had finiſhed the affairs on which they had met, the earl of Flanders took his leave of the king, and departed.

It ſeems to me, that the duke of Lancaſter and the lord Edmund croſſed the channel with the earl, and attended him until he arrived at Bruges. We will not ſpeak longer of this matter, but return to the earl of Montfort, and mention how he conducted himſelf in Brittany.

CHAP. CCXXVII.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT CONQUERS AURAY AND SEVERAL OTHER PLACES FROM THE WIDOW OF LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS.—KING CHARLES INTERPOSES BETWEEN THEM, AND MAKES PEACE.—A PEACE IS ALSO MADE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE CAPTAL DE BUCH.

THE earl of Montfort, as it has been before related, laid ſiege to Auray, and declared that he would not leave it until he had conquered it; at which thoſe of the caſtle were not very well pleaſed. They had loſt their captain, Henri de Hauternelle, who had fallen in the battle with the flower of the garriſon; ſo that they were very few to defend it, and without hope of aſſiſtance.

They

They took counſel together, whether it would not be adviſable to ſurrender, on having their lives and fortunes ſaved, and on theſe terms entered into a negotiation with the earl. The earl, who had many other places to look to, and was not certain how the country would act after this victory, accepted their terms, allowing thoſe who would not remain with him to depart according to their inclinations. He then took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, new garriſoned it, and marched forward with his whole army, which increaſed daily; for men at arms and archers came to him in crowds, and many knights and ſquires turned to his party, eſpecially thoſe from lower Brittany.

He came before the good town of Jugon*, which ſhut its gates againſt him. He remained there three days, and ordered it to be aſſaulted twice, which occaſioned many both within and without the walls to be badly wounded. Thoſe in Jugon, ſeeing themſelves thus hardly preſſed, and no hopes of aid, did not wiſh to be further haraſſed: they acknowledged therefore the earl of Montfort for their lord, opened the gates, and ſwore homage and fealty to him, which they faithfully promiſed to keep. The earl changed all the municipal officers, appointing new ones in their ſtead.

He then advanced towards the city of Dinan†, and laid ſiege to it, which continued during the

* Jugon,—a town in Brittany, dioceſe of St. Pol.

† Dinan,—a conſiderable town in Brittany, dioceſe of St. Malo.

winter;

winter; for that town was well furniſhed with men at arms and proviſion: beſides, the duke of Anjou had exhorted them to behave themſelves as good men ſhould do (for he had aſſiſted them): this made them hold out, and ſuffer many a ſharp aſſault.

When they found their proviſion growing low, and that no relief was coming to them, they entered into a treaty of peace with the earl, who willingly liſtened to it; for he was deſirous of nothing but that they ſhould acknowledge him as their lord, which they did. He made a ſolemn entry into the town of Dinan, where all the inhabitants ſwore homage and fealty to him.

After this, the earl marched with his army to the city of Quimper Corentin *. He laid cloſe ſiege to it, and ordered large machines to be brought from Vannes and Dinan, ſaying, he would have it before he left it. I muſt now inform you, that the Engliſh and the Bretons of Montfort's party, ſuch as ſir John Chandos and others, who had made priſoners at the battle of Auray, would not accept of ranſoms for them, nor allow them to go and ſeek for money; becauſe they were unwilling they ſhould again aſſemble in a body and offer them battle: they ſent them into Poitou, Saintonge, Bourdeaux and la Rochelle, to remain there as priſoners. During this time, the Engliſh and Bretons conquered all Brittany, from one end to the other.

* Quimper Corentin,—a town in Brittany, generality of Nantes.

Whilſt

Whilſt the earl of Montfort was beſieging the city of Quimper Corentin, to which he did much damage by his machines that played night and day, as well as by his aſſaults, his men overran the country, leaving nothing unpillaged.

The king of France was duly informed of all that was going on: many councils were held to conſider how he could turn theſe affairs of Brittany to his own intereſt; for they were in a deſperate ſituation, unleſs promptly remedied, and he would be forced to call upon his ſubjects to ſupport him in a new war againſt England on account of Brittany. This his council adviſed him not to think of: but, after many deliberations, they ſaid to him; 'Our moſt dear lord, you have ſupported your couſin, the lord Charles de Blois, in Brittany, as did the king your father, and your grandfather Philip, who gave to him the heireſs of the laſt duke of Brittany in marriage; by which means much evil has befallen Brittany and the neighbouring countries. Since the lord Charles de Blois, your couſin, was ſlain in defending that country, there is no one now of his party in a ſituation to reſume the war; for at this moment thoſe to whom it belongs, and whom it touches ſo nearly, are priſoners in England: we mean the lord John and lord Guy de Blois, his two ſons. We hear every day of the earl of Montfort conquering towns and caſtles, which he poſſeſſes as his lawful inheritance: by this means, you will loſe your rights, as well as the homage of Brittany, which is certainly a great honor and a noble appendage to your crown. This you ought to endeavour to keep;

for,

for, if the earl of Montfort ſhould acknowledge for his lord the king of England, as his father did; you will not be able to recover it without great wars with England, with whom we are now at peace, and which we would adviſe you not to break. Every thing, therefore, fully conſidered, we recommend to you, our dear lord, to ſend ambaſſadors and wiſe negotiators to the earl of Montfort, to find out what his intentions are, and to enter upon a treaty of peace with him, as well as with the country, and the lady of it, who bears the title of ducheſs. You will derive from theſe negotiators poſitive information as to what are his intentions. At the worſt, it will be much better he ſhould remain duke of Brittany (provided that he will acknowledge you for his lord, and pay you all your rights, as a loyal man ſhould do) than that this buſineſs ſhould continue longer in peril.'

The king of France willingly aſſented to this propoſal. The lord John de Craon, archbiſhop of Rheims, the lord de Craon his couſin, and the lord de Boucicaut, were ordered to ſet out for Quimper Corentin, to treat with the earl of Montfort and his council, as it has been above related. Theſe three lords departed, after having received full inſtructions how they were to act, and rode on until they came to the ſiege which the Engliſh and Bretons were laying to Quimper Corentin, where they announced themſelves as ambaſſadors from France.

The earl of Montfort, ſir John Chandos and the members of the council, received them with pleaſure.

ſure. Theſe lords explained the cauſe of their coming. To this firſt opening, the earl of Montfort replied, 'We will conſider of it,' and fixed a day for his anſwer: during this interval, theſe three lords retired to Rennes, where they reſided.

The earl of Montfort diſpatched lord Latimer* to the king of England, to inform him of the propoſals for a peace he had received, and to have his advice on the ſubject. The king of England, having conſidered them, adviſed the earl to make a peace, on condition the duchy ſhould be his; and alſo to make handſome reparation to the lady who was called ducheſs, by aſſigning her a fixed annuity, or rent-charge, on certain lands where ſhe might collect it without danger.

Lord Latimer brought back the opinion of the king of England to the earl of Montfort, who was ſtill before Quimper Corentin. Upon the arrival of theſe letters, the earl and his council ſent to the ambaſſadors from France, who had remained at Rennes: they came immediately to the army, and had a very courteous and civil anſwer given to them. They were told that the earl of Montfort would never give up his claims to the duchy of Brittany, happen what might, but would keep and maintain the title and rights of duke of Brittany, which he was now poſſeſſed of: that, nevertheleſs, wherever the king of France ſhould cauſe any cities, towns or caſtles to ſurrender peaceably upon the

* Lord Latimer. See Dugdale's Baronage.

ſame

ſame terms of homage, fealty and rights, as they were held from the preceding duke of Brittany, he would willingly acknowledge him for his liege lord, and would do him homage and ſervice in the preſence of the peers of France. Moreover on account of the affinity between him and his couſin the widow of the lord Charles de Blois, he was willing to do every thing to aſſiſt her; and would alſo uſe his endeavours to obtain the liberty of his couſins, the lords John and Guy de Blois, who were detained priſoners in England.

This anſwer was very agreeable to the French lords who had been ſent thither: a day was appointed for them to declare their acceptance of theſe terms or not: they inſtantly ſent information of what had paſſed to the duke of Anjou, who had retired to Angers, to whom the king had referred the acceptance of the terms, according to his pleaſure.

When the duke of Anjou had conſidered the propoſals for ſome time, he gave his aſſent. The two knights who had been ſent to him returned with his anſwer ſealed.

The ambaſſadors of France again left Rennes, and went to Quimper Corentin, when a peace with the lord of Montfort was finally agreed to and ſealed.

He was to remain duke of Brittany; but, in caſe he ſhould have no legal heirs by marriage, the duchy ſhould revert, after his deceaſe, to the children of lord Charles de Blois. The lady who had been the wife of lord Charles was created counteſs

of Penthievre, with the lands attached to it; which lands were ſuppoſed worth about twenty thouſand francs a-year, or if not, that ſum was to be made up to her. The earl of Montfort engaged to go to France, whenever he ſhould be ſummoned, to do homage to the king of France and acknowledge that he held the duchy of him. Charters and publicly ſealed inſtruments were drawn up of all theſe articles. Thus had the earl of Montfort poſſeſſion of Brittany: he remained duke of it for a time, until new wars began, as you ſhall hear in the following hiſtory.

Among theſe articles, it was ſtipulated, that the lord de Cliſſon ſhould repoſſeſs thoſe lands which king Philip had formerly taken from his family. This lord de Cliſſon gained the confidence of the king of France, who did whatever he wiſhed, and without him nothing was done.

The whole country of Brittany was full of joy upon the concluſion of a peace. The duke received homages from cities, towns, caſtles, prelates, and gentl men.

Soon afterwards, the duke married * the daughter of her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales, which ſhe had borne to her former huſband, the lord Thomas Holland. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, in the good city of Nantes.

It alſo happened this winter, that queen Jane,

* Johanna of Holland, daughter of Thomas earl of Kent, —married 1366—died, without iſſue, 1386.—ANDERSON.

aunt

aunt to the king of Navarre, and queen Blanche, his ſiſter, laboured ſo earneſtly for peace that it was concluded between the kings of France and Navarre, aſſiſted much by the advice and prudence of the captal de Buch, who took great pains in the buſineſs. He alſo obtained his liberty by it. The king of France ſhowed him great marks of eſteem, and, as a proof of it, gave him the handſome caſtle of Nemours, with all its rights, appurtenances and juriſdictions, which were worth three thouſand francs of revenue. The captal became, by this means, liege man to the king of France. The king was well pleaſed at receiving him a homager; for he loved much the ſervice of a knight ſuch as the captal; but he was not ſo long, for, when he was returned into the principality to the prince, who had been informed of what had paſſed, he was much blamed, and told that he could not acquit himſelf loyally in his ſervice to two lords: that he was over covetous, when he accepted of lands in France, where he was neither honored nor beloved.

When he found himſelf in this ſituation, and ſo treated and taunted by the prince of Wales, his own natural lord, he was quite aſhamed of himſelf, and made excuſes, ſaying 'that he was not by any means too much connected with the king of France, and that he could very eaſily undo all that had been done.' He ſent, therefore, by his own ſquire, his homage back to the king of France, renounced all that had been given him, and remained attached to the prince.

Among the articles of the treaty between the kings of France and Navarre, the towns of Mante and Meulan were to be given the king of France, who reſtored to the king of Navarre other caſtles in Normandy.

About this time, the lord Louis de Navarre ſet out from France, and paſſed through Lombardy, to eſpouſe the queen of Naples*. At his departure, he borrowed of the king of France ſixty thouſand francs, upon the ſecurity of ſome caſtles which belonged to him in Normandy. He ſurvived his marriage with that queen but a ſhort time. May God forgive him his faults! for he was a good and courteous knight,

CHAP. CCXXVIII.

A WAR IN SPAIN BETWEEN THE KING, DON PEDRO OF CASTILLE, AND HIS BASTARD BROTHER HENRY,—TO WHOSE AID THE LORD JOHN DE BOURBON AND SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN LEAD THE PILLAGING COMPANIES.—HENRY, BY THEIR MEANS, IS CROWNED KING OF CASTILLE.

AT this period†, thoſe companies of freebooters were ſo much increaſed in France that the government did not know what to do with them,

* The queen of Naples. This muſt have been the too celebrated Jane, but I cannot find the marriage mentioned in any other book.

† This period,—1365.

ſince

ſince the wars in Brittany and thoſe with the king of Navarre were now put an end to. Theſe companies having been brought up to arms, and taught to live on pillage and plunder alone, neither could nor would abſtain from it. Their great reſource was France; and theſe companions called the kingdom of France their domain. They dared not, however, make any attempts on Acquitaine, for the country would not have ſuffered it; beſides, to ſay truth, the greater number of their captains were Gaſcons and Engliſh, or perſons attached to the king of England or prince of Wales.

Some lords of Brittany were among them, but they were few in number. On this account, many of the inhabitants of France murmured much, and complained ſecretly of the king of England and the prince, that they did not act well towards the king of France in not aſſiſting him to drive theſe bad people out of the realm. They were better pleaſed to ſee them with their neighbours than among themſelves. The wiſeſt of the kingdom declared, that if ſomething were not ſpeedily done in this buſineſs, either by fighting or getting rid of them out of the country, by a handſome preſent in money, they would deſtroy the noble kingdom of France.

There was at the time a king in Hungary who was deſirous of having their aſſiſtance, and would have given them full employment againſt the Turks, with whom he was at war, for they had done him much miſchief. He wrote, therefore, to pope Urban V. (who was then at Avignon, and

who would gladly have ſeen France delivered from theſe companies,) and alſo to the king of France and to the prince of Wales.

He wiſhed to enter into a treaty with their leaders, and offered large ſums of money to them and a free paſſage; but they would not liſten to it, ſaying, that they would not go ſo far to make war. It was told them by their oldeſt captains, who were well acquainted with the country of Hungary, that there were ſuch narrow paſſes, if they ſhould in any combat be engaged in them, they would never be able to get out, but muſt infallibly be cut off. This report frightened them ſo much, that they had not any deſire to go thither.

When pope Urban and the king of France found theſe wicked people were not likely to come into their plan, and would not quit the kingdom, but, on the contrary, multiplied daily, they thought upon another method to free the country from them.

There was in theſe times a king of Caſtille, of the name of don Pedro*, whoſe mind, full of ſtrange opinions, was very rebellious and refractory to all the regulations and commands of the church: he wanted to ſubdue his Chriſtian neighbours, more eſpecially the king of Arragon, of the name of Peter†, who was a good Catholic: he had even taken from him part of his poſſeſſions, and was preparing to ſeize the remainder.

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* Don Pedro—the fourth, ſurnamed the Cruel.

† Peter—the fourth, ſurnamed the Ceremonious.

This king, don Pedro of Caſtille, had three baſtard brothers, children of the good Alphonſo his father and a lady called la Riche Done *. The eldeſt was named don Henry; the ſecond, don Tello; the third, don Sancho†.

Don Pedro hated them mortally; and, could he have laid hands on them, he would have had them beheaded. They had been, however, much loved by their father, who in his lifetime had given to Henry, the eldeſt, the county of Traſtamare; but the king, don Pedro his brother, had taken it from him by force, and every day was haraſſing him.

This baſtard Henry was a very valiant and worthy knight: he had been a long time in France, where he followed the profeſſion of arms, and had ſerved under the king of France‡, whom he loved much.

The king don Pedro, as common report told the ſtory, had by different means cauſed the death of their mother, which, as was natural, gave them great diſpleaſure. He had baniſhed and murdered many of the greateſt barons of the realm of Caſtille. He was withal ſo cruel, and of ſuch a horrid diſpoſition, that all men feared, ſuſpected and hated him, but dared not ſhew it. He had alſo cauſed the death of a very good and virtuous lady, whom he

* La Richa Donna,—Eleanora de Guzman.

† Sancho. In l'Art de verifier les Dates, the ſecond ſon is called Frederick, and the third D. Tello. Frederick was murdered by don Pedro, 1358.

‡ King of France,—John. Don Henry was at the battle of Poitiers.

had married, the lady Blanche, daughter of duke Peter de Bourbon, and couſin german to the queen of France and to the counteſs of Savoy. All her relations, who are of the nobleſt blood in the world, were moſt exceedingly irritated by the manner of her death *.

There was alſo a report current among the people, that king Peter had even formed an alliance with the kings of Benamarine †, Granada and Tremeçen ‡, who were enemies to God, and infidels. Many were uneaſy at wrongs he might do to his country, and leſt he ſhould violate the churches; for he had ſeized their revenues, and detained the prieſts of holy church in priſon, where he vexed them with all ſorts of tyranny.

Great complaints of theſe proceedings were ſent daily to the pope, entreating him to put a ſtop to them. Pope Urban received and attended to theſe complaints. He ſent ambaſſadors to the king, don Pedro, ordering and enjoining him to come forthwith in perſon to the court of Rome, to purge and

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* She was poiſoned, by don Pedro's orders, in the caſtle of Medina Sidonia, where he had confined her. CHOISY, Hiſt. Charles V.—Others ſay, ſmothered between two cuſhions.

† Benamarine. Aben Jacob, king of Fez, ſent his ſon Abomelique to take poſſeſſion of lands given him by the king of Granada, as a barrier againſt Alphonſo XI. He landed with his fleet at Algeziras 133', with a number of Benamerine Moors, and formed a new kingdom in Spain, ſtiling himſelf king of Algeziras and Ronda.—*Dillon*'s Hiſt. Peter the Cruel, vol i. p. 14.

‡ Tremeçen. By Moreri, this appears to have been a town in Africa, dependant on the kingdom of Talenſin.

clear

clear himſelf from all the villanous actions he was charged with.

Don Pedro, proud and preſumptuous as he was, not only refuſed to obey the mandate, but even received with inſults the ambaſſadors from the holy father, for which he fell grievouſly under his indignation. This wicked king ſtill perſevered in his ſin. It was then conſidered how or by what means he could be corrected; and it was determined that he was no longer worthy to bear the title of king, nor to poſſeſs a kingdom. He was therefore publicly excommunicated, in full conſiſtory, held in the apartments of the pope, at Avignon, and declared to be a heretick and infidel. They thought they ſhould be able to puniſh him, by means of the free companies who were in France.

They requeſted the king of Arragon, who hated very much this don Pedro, and Henry the baſtard of Spain, to come immediately to Avignon. The holy father then legitimated the birth of Henry the baſtard, ſo that he might be in a condition to obtain the kingdom from don Pedro, who had been curſed and condemned by the ſentence of the pope.

The king of Arragon offered a free paſſage through his kingdom, with a ſupply of men at arms, and all ſorts of proviſion and aid, to whoever ſhould enter Caſtille, and attack don Pedro to deprive him of his throne.

The king of France was much pleaſed with this intelligence, and took great pains that ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, whom ſir John Chandos held as his priſoner, ſhould be ranſomed. This was fixed at

one hundred thouſand francs *. The king of France paid one part, the pope and Henry the baſtard the other.

Soon after his liberty was obtained, they entered into a treaty with the chiefs of thoſe companies, promiſing them great advantages if they would go into Caſtille. They readily aſſented to the propoſal by means of a large ſum of money, which was divided among them.

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* The abbé Choiſy ſays, it was 30,000 francs.

In a note to the Memoires du Gueſclin, it is ſaid, that 'it coſt du Gueſclin 100,000 francs for his ranſom. As he had no ready money, the lords de Matignon, de Montbourcher and de Laval were his ſecurity to the general, Chandos. Charles V. paid of it 40,000 francs, the pope and Henry Traſtamare, afterwards king of Caſtille, made up the remainder.—*Memoires Hiſtoriques.*

In a moſt curious hiſtory, called Les Faiz de Meſſire Bertrand du Gueſclin, which I conſider as the editio princeps (from the ſtile and manner of printing) in the Haford Library, no mention whatever is made of a ranſom.

'Les Faiz du Meſſire Bertrand du Gueſclin, in fol. figures, ancienne edition gothique.

'Je n'ai vu ce livre nulle part ailleurs que dans le catalogue du maréchal d'Etrées, num. 15052. On ſeroit porté à croire c'eſt le même que le manuſcrit de Ménard, qu'il a publié comme inconnu juſqu' alors, ainſi qu'il dit dans ſon avis au lecteur.'

In the Memoires de Bertrand, by M. Guyard de Berville, 2 vols. 12mo. it is ſaid that Charles V. paid part of the 100,000 francs of the ranſom, and that Bertrand found the reſt himſelf.

Extract from the Bibliotheque Hiſtorique de de France, du pere le Long.

The

The prince of Wales was informed of this intended expedition, as well as his knights and ſquires, but particularly ſir John Chandos, who was ſolicited to be one of the leaders of it, in conjunction with ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin. He excuſed himſelf, and ſaid he could not go. This, however, did not put a ſtop to it: many knights who were attached to the prince, among whom were ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, ſir Hugh Caverly, ſir Walter Huet, ſir Matthew Gournay, ſir Perducas d'Albret and ſeveral others were of the party.

The lord John de Bourbon, earl of Marche, took the chief command, in order to revenge the death of his couſin the queen of Spain: but he was under the advice and controul of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, as he was at that time a very young knight.

In this expedition were alſo the lord of Beaujeu, whoſe name was Anthony, and many worthy knights: ſuch as lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marſhal of France, the lords Begue de Villaines, d'Antoin in Hainault, de Briſnel, John de Neufville*, Guimars de Bailheul, John de Berguetes, the German lord de St. Venant, and others whom I cannot name. All theſe men at arms aſſembled together, in order to begin their march at Montpellier in Languedoc.

Theſe men at arms might be about three thouſand†. They all paſſed through Narbonne, in

* Neufville. Sir John Neville.

† My MSS. ſay, 30,000 men; and the abbé Choiſy ſays, they were 30,000 men, well armed.—Hiſt. Charles V.

their

their march to Perpignan, in order to enter Arragon by that town *. All the leaders of theſe companies were there: the lords Robert Briquet, John Carſneille, Nandon de Bagerant, La Nuit, le petit Meſchin, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Eſparre, Battiller, Eſpiote, Aymemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, and numbers more: all of one mind and accord, to dethrone don Pedro from his kingdom of Caſtille, and to place there in his room the baſtard Henry, earl of Traſtamare.

Don Pedro had received information that this army was marching againſt him: he collected his troops, in order to meet them, and fight boldly on their entering Caſtille.

When they were about to enter Arragon, they ſent to him, in order to cover and maſk their real intentions, to aſk a free paſſage through his country, and that proviſion might be ſupplied to ſome pilgrims of God, who had undertaken, through devotion, an expedition into the kingdom of Granada, to revenge the ſufferings of their Lord and Saviour, to deſtroy the infidels, and to exalt the Croſs.

Don Pedro laughed at this requeſt, and ſent for anſwer, that he would never attend to ſuch beggarly crew. When the men at arms and companions heard this reply, they thought him very proud and preſumptuous, and made every haſte to do him as much miſchief as they could.

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* Choiſy ſays, that one part embarked at Aigues Mortes for Barcelona, and that the reſt went by land.

They marched through the kingdom of Arragon, where every accommodation was prepared for them, and they found all ſorts of proviſion plenty and cheap; for the king of Arragon was very joyful on their arrival, becauſe this army would ſoon re-conquer from the king of Caſtille the whole country which he had taken from him, and kept by force.

Whenever they won any towns, caſtles, cities or fortreſſes, which don Pedro had ſeized from Arragon, ſir Bertrand and his army gave them back to the king of Arragon, who declared, that from that day forward, he would aſſiſt Henry the baſtard againſt don Pedro. All the men at arms paſſed the great river * which divides Caſtille from Arragon, and entered Spain.

News was brought to the king of Caſtille, that French, Engliſh, Bretons, Normans, Picards and Burgundians had croſſed the Ebro, and entered his kingdom: that they had re-conquered every place on the other ſide of the river that ſeparates Caſtille from Arragon, which had coſt him ſo much trouble to gain.

Upon hearing this, he was in a great rage, and ſaid things ſhould not go on thus. He iſſued a ſpecial ordinance throughout his kingdom, ordering all thoſe to whom it was addreſſed to meet him without delay, as he was determined to combat theſe men at arms who had entered the kingdom of Caſtille.

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* The Ebro,—probably at Alfaro or Calahorra

Too few obeyed his mandate; for, when he thought to have aſſembled a large force, ſcarcely any came to the rendezvous. All the barons and knights of Spain fell off from him, in favor of his brother the baſtard. This event forced him to fly, or he would have been taken; and ſo much was he hated by his ſubjects and enemies, that not one remained with him, ſave one loyal knight called Ferdinand de Caſtro *. He was determined never to quit don Pedro, whatever ill-fortune might happen to him. The king of Caſtille went to Seville, the handſomeſt city in Spain; but, not thinking himſelf in ſecurity there, he ordered all his treaſures and other things to be packed up in large coffers, which he embarked on board of ſhips, leaving Seville with his wife, his children, and Ferdinand de Caſtro. Don Pedro arrived that ſame evening † (like a knight that

* Ferdinand de Caſtro. In the hiſtory of Spain by Ferraras, don Pedro publicly marries the daughter of a don Pedro Fernandez de Caſtro, widow of don Diego de Haro, during the life of his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, and of Maria di Padilla, in the year 1354; whether the daughter of this knight who accompanied him in his flight, I know not.

† Don Pedro retired firſt to Portugal, where he offered his daughter Beatrice to the infant of Portugal, in marriage, with a large portion of money he had brought with him. This propoſal was rejected for fear of embroiling the two kingdoms. He retreated to different caſtles, the governors of which refuſed to admit him, and ſtopped at the caſtle of Montérey in Galicia: from thence he went to San Jago, and murdered the archbiſhop, and thence to Corunna, where, finding twenty-two veſſels, he embarked for Bayonne. Don Ferdinand de Caſtro did not accompany him, but remained to ſupport his intereſt in Biſcay.

that had been beaten and diſcomfited) at a town called Corunna, in Galicia, where there was a very ſtrong caſtle. He immediately flung himſelf into it, with his wife and children; that is to ſay, two young damſels, called Conſtance * and Iſabella †. None of his courtiers followed him, nor had he any of his council with him except the above-mentioned Ferdinand de Caſtro.

We will now return to his brother, Henry the baſtard, and relate how he perſevered in his deſigns. I have before ſaid, that don Pedro was much hated by all his ſubjects, for the great and numberleſs acts of injuſtice he had committed, and for the various murders by which he had cut off many of the nobility, ſome of them even by his own hands; ſo that, as ſoon as they knew his brother the baſtard had entered Caſtille with a powerful army, they all joined him, acknowledged him for their lord; and, having increaſed his army, cauſed all the cities,

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He could not at that time have any wife; for he had murdered Blanche de Bourbon, and Maria di Padilla died before this. He indeed owned his marriage with Maria very ſolemnly, but was not believed.

Don Pedro had entered into an alliance with the king of England and prince of Wales as early as 1363, for fear of the vengeance of France for the murder of queen Blanche.

For more particulars, ſee Ferraras' Hiſt. of Spain, Dillon, &c.

* Conſtance married John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, who claimed the kingdom of Caſtille after don Pedro's death.

† Iſabella,—firſt wife of Edmund duke of York, married 1372,—much lamented for her youthful wantonneſs, died 1392.—*Anderſon's R. Gen.*

towns

towns and caſtles to open their gates to him, and the inhabitants to do him homage. The Spaniards ſhouted with one voice, 'Long live king Henry! Down with don Pedro, who has treated us ſo cruelly and wickedly.'

Thus they conducted Henry throughout the kingdom of Caſtille; that is to ſay, the lord Gomez Garilz *, the grand maſter of the order of Calatrava †, and the maſter of the order of St. James ‡, making all the people obey him. They crowned him king in the city of Burgos, where all the prelates, earls, barons and knights paid him their homage, and ſwore they would ſerve and obey him as their king for evermore, and, if there ſhould be occaſion, would ſacrifice their lives for him. King Henry then paſſed from city to city, all the inhabitants of which treated him as their king.

Henry made large preſents and gifts to the foreign knights who had put him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Caſtille. They were ſo magnificent, that he was conſidered as a moſt generous and bountiful

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* ‡ Gomez Garilz. Denys Sauvage cannot make out who this is; nor is the account correct, according to other hiſtorians. Many of the king's friends remained ſteady to him, as did the bulk of his army. Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo, maſter of the knights of St. James, who commanded at Logrono; Garcia de Padilla, governor of Agreda; Fernando de Toledo, brother to the maſter of St. James, and Boccanegra, admiral of Caſtille, were among the number.—Dillon.

† Maſter of Calatrava. Martin Lopez de Cordova, maſter of Calatrava, followed don Pedro's fortunes, and went with him from Seville to Portugal.—Dillon.

lord:

lord: the Normans, French and Bretons, who had been partakers of his bounty, ſaid he was deſerving of a large fortune, and that he ought to reign with great proſperity. Thus the baſtard of Spain found himſelf maſter of Caſtille. He created his two brothers, don Tello and don Frederick, earls, and gave them large eſtates, with other revenues. He continued king of Caſtille, Galicia, Seville, Toledo and Leon, until the forces of the prince of Wales deprived him of them, re-placing the king, don Pedro, in the poſſeſſion of theſe realms, as you will find related in the following hiſtory.

When king Henry ſaw himſelf thus ſituated, and the buſineſs completed, ſo that all obeyed him, both nobles and ſerfs, as their king and lord; that there was not any appearance of oppoſition to his crown; he imagined it would add luſtre to his name, if he made an irruption into the kingdom of Granada with thoſe free companies that had come from France, as a means of giving them employment. He mentioned it therefore, to ſeveral of the knights who were about him, when they conſented to it. He retained conſtantly near his perſon thoſe knights who were attached to the prince of Wales; namely, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, ſir Hugh Calverley and others, ſhewing them the moſt marked attentions and kindneſs, in expectation of being aided by them in his intended expedition to Granada, which he was deſirous of undertaking.

Soon after his coronation, the greater number of French knights took their leave, and departed. On their going away, he made them very rich preſents.

The

The earl de la Marche, ſir Arnold d'Andreghen, the lord de Beaujeu and many more, returned to their own country. However, ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, ſir Olivier de Mauny and the Bretons, as well as the free companies, remained in Caſtille until other news arrived. Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin was made conſtable of Caſtille by Henry, with the aſſent of all the barons of the realm. We will now return to don Pedro.

CHAP. CCXXIX.

KING DON PEDRO SENDS TO ENTREAT THE PRINCE OF WALES' ASSISTANCE AGAINST HIS BROTHER, HENRY THE BASTARD.—HE RETIRES INTO GUIENNE, WHERE HE IS WELL RECEIVED BY THE PRINCE.

YOU have heard how don Pedro had caſt himſelf into the caſtle of Corunna near the ſea, with only his wife, his two daughters and don Fernando de Caſtro; whilſt in the mean time, his brother the baſtard, through the aſſiſtance of the men at arms whom he had drawn from France, was conquering Caſtille, to whom the whole country had ſurrendered.

All this much alarmed him; and he did not think himſelf in perfect ſafety in the caſtle of Corunna; for he had a great dread of his brother the baſtard, and well knew that, if he were informed where he was, he would come and ſeek him with his forces, to beſiege him in the caſtle. He would not wait this

this danger, but embarked on board a veſſel, with his wife, his daughters, don Fernando de Caſtro, and whatever he had amaſſed of money and jewels, and put to ſea in the night. The wind, however, was ſo contrary, that they could not clear the coaſt, but were obliged to return, and again to enter the caſtle of Corunna.

Don Pedro then demanded from his knight, don Fernando de Caſtro, complaining of his evil fortune, which was ſo much againſt him, what was beſt to be done. 'My lord,' replied the knight, 'before you leave this place, I think it would be proper that you ſend ſome perſon to your couſin the prince of Wales, to know if he will receive you, and to entreat of him, for God's ſake, that he would attend to your diſtreſs. He is in a manner bound to it, from the ſtrong connection that has ſubſiſted between the king his father, and yours in former times. The prince of Wales is of ſuch a noble and gallant diſpoſition that, when he ſhall be informed of your misfortunes, he will certainly take compaſſion on you: and, if he ſhould determine to replace you on your throne, there is no one, ſir, that could oppoſe him, ſo much is he redouted by all the world, and beloved by ſoldiers. You are now ſafe where you are; for this fortreſs will hold out until ſome intelligence ſhall be brought you from Acquitaine.'

Don Pedro immediately aſſented to this: a letter, in a moſt lamentable and piteous ſtrain, was written: and a knight, with two ſquires, having been inſtructed to undertake this employ, cheerfully accepted it, directly put to ſea, and made ſail for

Bayonne, a city dependant on the king of England, where they ſafely arrived. They made inquiries after the prince, and learnt that at that time he was at Bourdeaux. Upon this, they rode to Bourdeaux, and took up their quarters at an inn. Soon afterward they made for the monaſtery of St. Andrew, where the prince reſided.

The knight and ſquires who had come from Spain informed the knights of the prince, that they were Spaniards, and ambaſſadors from don Pedro of Caſtille. The prince, when informed of it, wiſhed to ſee them, and to know what buſineſs had brought them. They were, upon this, introduced, and after having caſt themſelves on their knees, ſaluted him according to their cuſtom, recommending the king their lord to him, as they preſented him his letter. The prince made them riſe: having taken the letter, he opened it, and afterwards read it more at his leiſure. He found that don Pedro had written a moſt melancholy account of himſelf, informing him of his hardſhips and diſtreſs, and in what manner his brother the baſtard, by means of the great alliances he had made, firſt with the pope, then with the kings of France and Arragon, and the free companies, had driven him out of his inheritance, the kingdom of Caſtille. In that letter, he entreated the prince, for the love of God, and for pity's ſake, that he would attend to his ſituation, and find ſome remedy to it; for it was not a Chriſtian-like act, that a baſtard, through force, ſhould diſinherit a legitimate ſon, and ſeize his poſſeſſions.

The

The prince, who was a valiant and a wiſe knight, having folded up the letter in his hands, ſaid to the ambaſſadors, who had remained in his preſence, 'You are welcome to us from our couſin the king of Caſtille: you will ſtay here in our court, and will not return without an anſwer.'

The knights of the prince were already prepared; for they well knew what was proper to be done, and took with them the Spaniſh knight and his two ſquires to entertain them handſomely.

The prince had remained in his apartment, thinking much on the contents of the letter from the king of Caſtille. He immediately ſent for ſir John Chandos and ſir William Felton, the chiefs of his council: one was high ſteward of Acquitaine, and the other conſtable.

When they were come, he ſaid ſmiling; 'My lords, here is great news from Spain. The king, don Pedro our couſin, complains grievouſly of Henry his baſtard brother, who has ſeized his kingdom, and driven him out of it, as perhaps you may have heard related by thoſe who are come hither. He entreats of us help and aſſiſtance, as his letter will more fully explain to you.' The prince then again read it over, word for word, to the knights, who lent a willing ear. When he had read it, he ſaid; 'You, ſir John, and you, ſir William, who are my principal counſellors, and in whom I have the greateſt confidence and truſt: tell me, I beg of you, what will be the moſt adviſable for us to do in this buſineſs.' The two knights looked at each

other, but uttered not a word. The prince again appealed to them, and ſaid, 'Speak boldly, whatever be your opinion.'

The prince was then adviſed by theſe two knights, as I have heard it told afterwards, to ſend a body of men at arms to king don Pedro, as far as Corunna, where he was, and whence he had dated his letter; to conduct him to Bourdeaux, in order more fully to learn what were his wants and intentions: that then they ſhould be better informed from his converſation how they were to act.

This anſwered pleaſed the prince. Sir William Felton was ordered to take the command of the expedition; and the prince aſked ſir Richard Pontchardon, ſir Nêle Loring, ſir Simon Burley * and ſir William Trouſſeaux to accompany it into Galicia, to eſcort from Corunna the king, don Pedro, and the remnant of his army. The armament for this expedition was to conſiſt of twelve veſſels, which were to be filled with archers and men at arms.

The above-named knights made proper purveyances for the occaſion, and ſet out from Bourdeaux, accompanied by the ambaſſadors from don Pedro. They continued their journey to Bayonne, where they remained three or four days, waiting for a favorable wind, and to load the ſhips. On the fifth day, as they were on the point of ſailing, don Pedro,

* Sir Simon Burley,—knight of the Garter, &c.—beheaded in the reign of Richard II.

king

king of Caſtille arrived there. He had left Corunna in great ſuſpenſe, being afraid to ſtay there longer, and had brought with him a few of his people, and as much of his treaſure as he could carry away.

This was great news for the Engliſh. Sir William Felton and the other knights waited on him, on his landing, and received him handſomely. They informed him, that they had prepared themſelves, and were on the point of ſailing to Corunna, or farther had it been neceſſary, to ſeek for him, by orders from the prince their lord. Don Pedro heard this with great joy, and returned his warmeſt thanks to the prince, as well as to the knights then preſent.

Sir William Felton immediately ſent the prince information of the arrival of the king of Caſtille at Bayonne, who was much pleaſed thereat. Theſe knights did not make any long ſtay at Bayonne, but, taking the king with them, made for the city of Bourdeaux, where they ſafely arrived.

The prince, who was anxious to ſee his couſin the king, don Pedro, and alſo to do him the more honor, rode out of Bourdeaux, attended by his knights and ſquires, to meet him. When they met he ſaluted him very reſpectfully, and paid him every attention by ſpeech and action; for he knew perfectly well how ſo to do: no prince of his time underſtood ſo well the practice of good breeding.

After their meeting, when they had refreſhed themſelves as was becoming them to do, they rode towards Bourdeaux. The prince placed don Pedro on his right hand, and would not ſuffer it to be

otherwiſe. During their return, don Pedro told the prince his diſtreſſes, and in what manner his brother the baſtard had driven him out of the kingdom of Caſtille. He complained bitterly of the diſloyalty of his ſubjects; for all had deſerted him except one knight, don Fernando de Caſtro, then with him, and whom he pointed out to the prince.

The prince comforted him by a moſt courteous and diſcreet anſwer: he begged of him not to be too much caſt down; for, if he had loſt every thing, it was fully in the power of God to give him back what he had loſt, and more, as well as vengeance upon his enemies.

Converſing on this ſubject, as well as on other topicks, they rode on to Bourdeaux, and diſmounted at the monaſtery of St. Andrew, the reſidence of the prince and princeſs. The king, don Pedro, was conducted to an apartment which had been prepared for him.

When he had dreſſed himſelf ſuitably to his rank, he waited on the princeſs and the ladies, who all received him very politely. I could enlarge much on the feaſts and entertainments which were made; but I will briefly paſs them over, and relate to you how don Pedro conducted himſelf towards his couſin the prince of Wales, whom he found courteous and affable, and willing to attend to his requeſt of aid, notwithſtanding ſome of his council had given him the advice I will now mention.

Before the arrival of don Pedro at Bourdeaux, ſome lords, as well Engliſh as Gaſcons, who had much

much wiſdom and forethought, were of the prince's council, and who, by inclination as well as duty, thought themſelves bound to give him loyal advice, ſpoke to the prince in words like the following:

'My lord, you have often heard the old proverb of 'All covet, all loſe.' True it is, that you are one of the princes of this world, the moſt enlightened, eſteemed and honored, in poſſeſſion of large domains and a handſome principality on this ſide of the ſea, and are, thank God, at peace with every one. It is alſo well known, that no king, far or near, at this preſent moment dares anger you; ſuch reputation have you in chivalry for valour and good fortune. You ought, therefore, in reaſon, to be contented with what you have got, and not ſeek for enemies. We muſt add, likewiſe, that this don Pedro, king of Caſtille, who at preſent is driven out of his realm, is a man of great pride, very cruel, and full of bad diſpoſitions. The kingdom of Caſtille has ſuffered many grievances at his hands: many valiant men have been beheaded and murdered, without juſtice or reaſon; ſo that to theſe wicked actions, which he ordered or conſented to, he owes the loſs of his kingdom. In addition to this, he is an enemy to the church, and excommunicated by our holy father. He has been long conſidered as a tyrant, who, without any plea of juſtice, has always made war upon his neighbours; ſuch as the kings of Arragon and Navarre, whom he was deſirous to dethrone by force. It is alſo commonly reported,

and believed in his kingdom, and even by his own attendants, that he murdered the young lady, his wife, who was a couſin of yours, being daughter to the duke of Bourbon.

'Upon all theſe accounts, it behoves you to pauſe and reflect before you enter into any engagements; for what he has hitherto ſuffered are the chaſtiſements of God, who orders theſe puniſhments as an example to the kings and princes of the earth, that they ſhould never commit ſuch like wickedneſs.'

With ſimilar language to this was the prince alſo addreſſed by his council, on the arrival of the king of Caſtille at Bourdeaux: but to this loyal advice they received the following anſwer:

'My lords, I take it for granted and believe that you give me the beſt advice you are able. I muſt, however, inform you, that I am perfectly well acquainted with the life and conduct of don Pedro, and well know that he has committed faults without number, for which at preſent he ſuffers: but I will tell you the reaſons which at this moment urge and embolden me to give him aſſiſtance. I do not think it either decent or proper that a baſtard ſhould poſſeſs a kingdom as an inheritance, nor drive out of his realm his own brother, heir to the country by lawful marriage; and no king, nor king's ſon, ought ever to ſuffer it, as being of the greateſt prejudice to royalty. Add to this, that my lord and father and this don Pedro have for a long time been allies, much connected to-

together, by which we are bounden to aid and aſſiſt him, in caſe he ſhould require it.'

Theſe were the reaſons that inſtigated the prince to aſſiſt the king of Caſtille in his great diſtreſs, and thus he replied to his council. No one could afterwards make the ſmalleſt change in his determination, but every day it grew firmer.

When don Pedro arrived at Bourdeaux, he humbled himſelf to the prince, offering him many rich preſents, and the promiſe of further advantage; for he ſaid, he would make his eldeſt ſon, Edward, king of Galicia, and would divide among him and his people the great riches he had left in Caſtille, where it was ſo well ſecured and hidden that no one could find its ſituation except himſelf. The knights paid a willing attention to theſe words; for both Engliſh and Gaſcons, by nature, are of a covetous diſpoſition.

The prince was adviſed to ſummon all the barons of Acquitaine to an eſpecial council at Bourdeaux, ſo that there might be a grand conference held; when the king don Pedro, might lay before him his ſituation, and his means of ſatisfying them, ſhould the prince undertake to conduct him back to his own country, and to do all in his power to replace him upon his throne.

Letters and meſſengers were therefore ſent to all parts, and the lords ſummoned: firſt, the earl of Armagnac, ihe earl of Comminges, the lord d'Albret, the earl of Carmaing, the captal de Buch, the lord de Tande, the viſcount de Châtillon, the lords

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de l'Eſcut, de Roſem, de l'Eſparre, de Chaumont, de Mucident, de Courton, de Pincornet, and other barons of Gaſcony and Guienne. The earl of Foix was requeſted to attend; but he would not come, and excuſed himſelf, having at the time a diſorder in one of his legs, which prevented him from mounting on horſeback: he ſent, however, his council in his ſtead.

CHAP. CCXXX.

THE PRINCE OF WALES HOLDS A GRAND CONFERENCE AT BOURDEAUX ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE KING OF CASTILLE.—HE RECEIVES LETTERS FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND, TO ASSENT TO THE PROPOSALS OF ASSISTING DON PEDRO.—HE MAKES OVERTURES TO THE KING OF NAVARRE, FOR A FREE PASSAGE THROUGH HIS KINGDOM, TO ENABLE HIM TO CONDUCT DON PEDRO BACK TO CASTILLE.

TO this conference, which was holden at Bourdeaux, there came all the counts, viſcounts, barons, and men of abilities, in Saintonge, Poitou, Quercy, Limouſin, Gaſcony and Acquitaine.

When they were all aſſembled, they formed a parliament; and, having entered upon the buſineſs of their meeting, they for three days diſcuſſed the ſituation and future proſpect of this don Pedro, king of Caſtille, who was all the time preſent, placing himſelf near his couſin the prince, who

ſpoke

ſpoke in his behalf, and gave the beſt account he was able of his affairs.

It was at laſt reſolved, that the prince ſhould ſend ſufficient ambaſſadors to the king his father in England, to know his opinion on the ſubject; and that, as ſoon as they ſhould have the king's anſwer, they would then aſſemble, and give the prince ſuch good advice as reaſonably ought to be ſatisfactory to him.

The prince immediately named four knights; the lord Delawar, ſir Nêle Loring, ſir John and ſir Hely de Pommiers; and ordered them to ſet out for England.

This conference then broke up, and each returned to his home. The king, don Pedro, remained at Bourdeaux with the prince and princeſs, who entertained him handſomely, and with due honor.

Theſe four knights began their journey, according to their orders, for England; and, having embarked on board two ſhips, they arrived ſafely at Southampton, through God's good will and favorable winds. They remained there one day, to refreſh themſelves and to diſembark their horſes and equipage. On the ſecond day, they mounted their horſes, and rode on to the city of London, where they inquired after the king, and where he was. They were told, he was at Windſor. They ſet out for that place, and were very well received by the king and queen, as much through love for the prince their ſon, as becauſe they were lords and knights of great renown.

Theſe lords and knights gave their letters to the king, who opened them and had them read. After having

having for a ſhort time conſidered their contents, he ſaid; 'My lords, you may retire: I will ſend for ſome of my barons and learned men of my council: we will then give you our anſwer, that you may return back ſoon.'

This reply was very pleaſing to the ambaſſadors, who went the next day to London. It was not long before the king of England came to Weſtminſter, where he was met by the greater part of his council; that is to ſay, his ſon the duke of Lancaſter, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Saliſbury, ſir Walter Manny, ſir Reginald Cobham, earl Percy, lord Neville, and many others. Among the prelates, were the biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincoln and London. They deliberated for a long time on the letters from the prince, and on the requeſt he had made to the king his father. It appeared reaſonable to the king and his council, that the prince ſhould attempt to conduct back and replace the king of Spain on his throne and in his inheritance, which was unanimouſly agreed on. Upon this, they drew up excellent anſwers, from the king and council of England, to the prince and all the barons of Acquitaine. They were carried back by the ſame perſons who had brought the letters, to the city of Bourdeaux, where they found the prince, and the king, don Pedro; to each of whom they gave other letters which the king of England had ſent by them.

Another conference was determined upon: and, a day being fixed for holding it in the city of Bourdeaux, all thoſe who were ſummoned attended. The letters from the king of England were publicly read,

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who clearly and decidedly gave his opinion, that the prince his ſon, in the names of God and St. George, ſhould undertake the reſtoration of don Pedro to his heritage, from which he had been driven unjuſtly, and, as it would appear, fraudulently. In theſe letters, mention was alſo made, that the king thought himſelf obliged, from certain treaties which had been formerly entered into between him and his couſin don Pedro, to grant him help and ſuccour, in caſe he ſhould be required ſo to do. He ordered all his vaſſals, and entreated his friends to help and aſſiſt the prince of Wales, by every means in their power, throughout this affair, in the ſame manner as if he himſelf were preſent.

When the barons of Acquitaine had heard theſe letters read, and the commands and requeſts of the king and of the prince their lord, they cheerfully made the following anſwer: 'Sir, we will heartily obey the commands of the king our ſovereign lord. It is but juſt that we ſhould be obedient both to him and to you: this we will do, and will attend you and don Pedro upon this expedition; but we wiſh to know from whom we are to have our pay, as it is not cuſtomary for men at arms to leave their habitations to carry on a war in a foreign country without receiving wages.'

The prince, on hearing this, turned towards don Pedro, and ſaid; 'Sir king, you hear what our people ſay: it is for you to give them an anſwer; for it behoves you to do ſo who are about to lead them into action.' Don Pedro made the following reply to the prince: 'My dear couſin, as long as my gold,

gold, my ſilver and my treaſure will laſt, which I have brought with me from Spain, but which is not ſo great by thirty times as what I have left behind, I am willing it ſhould be divided among your people.' Upon which the prince ſaid; 'My lord, you ſpeak well: and for the ſurplus of the debt, I will take that upon myſelf towards them, and will order whatever ſums you may want to be advanced you as a loan, until we ſhall be arrived in Caſtille.' 'By my head,' replied don Pedro, 'you will do me a great kindneſs.'

Several of the moſt experienced among them, ſuch as the earl of Armagnac, the lord de Pommiers, ſir John Chandos, the captal de Buch and ſome others, having conſidered the buſineſs, ſaid, the prince of Wales could not well undertake this expedition without having gained the conſent and good will of the king of Navarre; for he could not enter Spain without traverſing his kingdom, and by the paſs of Roncevaux*. This entrance to Spain they were not quite ſure of obtaining; for the king of Navarre had lately formed freſh alliances with the baſtard Henry. It was therefore debated for a long time, in what manner they could ſucceed in gaining this important point. The wiſeſt were of opinion, that another meeting ſhould be appointed, and that it ſhould be held in the city of Bayonne; and that the prince, when there, ſhould ſend able ambaſſadors

* Roncevaux,—a village in Navarre, made famous by the defeat of Charlemagne, in which Orlando and Rinaldo, ſo much celebrated by the old romances, were ſlain.

to the king of Navarre, to entreat he would come to this conference at Bayonne.

This reſolution was adopted; and the conference broke up. They had all a wiſh to attend the meeting at Bayonne; and a day was fixed for holding it.

During this interval, the prince ſent ſir John Chandos and ſir William Felton to the king of Navarre, who was at that time in the city of Pompeluna. Theſe two knights, having wiſdom and eloquence, exerted themſelves ſo effectually with the king of Navarre that he agreed to their requeſt, and gave it under his ſeal that he would attend the conference at Bayonne. Upon which they returned to the prince, and related to him what they had done.

On the appointed day for this meeting in the city of Bayonne, the king of Spain, the prince, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and all the barons of Gaſcony, Poitou, Quercy, Rouergue, Saintonge and Limouſin came thither. The king of Navarre was alſo there; to whom the king of Spain and the prince paid every attention, thinking they ſhould not loſe by it.

This conference in the city of Bayonne was long. It laſted five days. The prince and his council had many difficulties before they could get the king of Navarre to conſent to their wiſhes; for it was not eaſy to make any thing of him whenever he found that his ſervices were wanted.

However, from the great influence which the prince had over him, he brought him at laſt to ſwear, promiſe and ſeal a treaty of peace, alliance and confederation

federation with don Pedro. The king of Caſtille entered into certain engagements with the king of Navarre, which had been propoſed to him by the prince of Wales. Theſe engagements were, that don Pedro, as king of both the Caſtilles, ſhould give, under his ſeal, to the king of Navarre and his heirs, to hold as their inheritance, all the domain of Logrono, with the lands on each ſide of the river and alſo the town, caſtle, territory and dependencies of Salvatierra, with the town of St. Jean Pied du Port and its ſurrounding country; which lands, towns, caſtles and lordſhips he had in former times taken poſſeſſion of, and held by force.

In addition to this, the king of Navarre was to receive twenty thouſand francs, for laying open his country, and permitting the army to paſs peaceably through, finding them proviſions upon being paid for them: in which ſum he acknowledged himſelf debtor to the king of Navarre *.

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* See the Fœdera for the underneath treaties, which relate to theſe tranſactions.

The firſt reaty between Edward III. and don Pedro, king of Caſtille, appears to be the 22d June 1362.—Confirmed 1ſt February, 1363,—and 1ſt March, 1363.

'Forbidding all ſoldiers to enter Spain as enemies, addreſſed to ſir John Chandos, ſir Hugh Calverley, &c.—December 6, 1365.'

A treaty, in which don Pedro acknowledges himſelf debtor to the prince of Wales in 56,000 gold florins, of good weight, &c. which the prince, by the king's directions, had paid to the king of Navarre, &c. dated Libourne (a city on the Dordogne, ten leagues diſtant from Bourdeaux), Sept. 23, 1366.

When the barons of Acquitaine learnt that these treaties were made, and that don Pedro and the king of Navarre were friends, they made inquiry who was to pay them their wages: the prince, who was very eager for this expedition, took that upon himſelf, king don Pedro having promiſed punctual re-payment.

CHAP. CCXXXI.

THE PRINCE OF WALES MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR REPLACING DON PEDRO ON HIS THRONE OF CASTILLE.—HENRY THE BASTARD, THOUGH LATE INFORMED OF IT, ENDEAVOURS TO PREVENT IT.

WHEN all thoſe things had been ſo ordered and ſettled that every one knew what he was to do, and they had remained in the city of Bayonne twelve days amuſing themſelves together, the king of Navarre took his leave, and ſet out for the kingdom of Navarre whence he had come. The other lords departed alſo, and each returned to his

1366. The number of witneſſes to this deed ſhews that Froiſſart was miſinformed when he ſays, that don Pedro was ſolely attended by don Fernando de Caſtro.

Articles of convention between Pedro king of Caſtille, Charles king of Navarre, and Edward prince of Wales,—dated Libourne, Sept. 23, 1366.

There are various other treaties between the king and prince, as well as the prince's letter to Henry de Traſtamare, and the anſwer, before the battle of Navarette.—See Rymer.

own home. Even the prince came back to Bourdeaux; but the king of Caſtille remained at Bayonne.

The prince immediately ſent his heralds into Spain, to the knights and other captains who were Engliſh or Gaſcons attached to or dependant on him, to ſignify his orders to take their leave of the baſtard, and to return as ſpeedily as poſſible; for he had need of them, and ſhould find them employment elſewhere.

When the heralds who were the bearers of theſe orders to the knights in Caſtille came to them, they gueſſed they were ſent for home: they immediately took leave of king Henry in the moſt courteous manner they could, without diſcovering either their own or the prince's intentions. King Henry, who was liberal, courteous and honorable, made them very handſome preſents, thanking them moſt gratefully for their ſervices.

Sir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, ſir Hugh Calverley, ſir Walter Huet, ſir Matthew Gournay, ſir John Devreux, with their men, left Spain, and returned as ſpeedily as poſſible. They were followed by ſeveral other knights and ſquires of the prince's houſehold, whoſe names I cannot remember: but as their companies were ſcattered in different parts of the country, they did not receive this intelligence ſo ſoon as the other knights.

Upon their receiving the information, they aſſembled together, and ſet out on their return. In this laſt diviſion were, ſir Robert Briquet, John Treuelle,

Treuelle*, ſir Rabours†, ſir Perducas d'Albret, ſir Garſis du Chaſtel, Nandon de Bagerant, the baſtard de l'Eſparre, the baſtard Camus, the baſtard de Breteuil.

King Henry had not heard of the prince's intentions to bring his brother, don Pedro, back to Caſtille, ſo ſoon as theſe knights; and well it was for them he had not; otherwiſe, if he had received this intelligence, they would not have been ſuffered to depart ſo eaſily; for he had the power to detain and vex them. However, when he knew the truth of it, he did not ſeem much affected by it: nevertheleſs, he ſpoke to ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, who was ſtill with him, as follows: 'Sir Bertrand, think of the prince of Wales: they ſay, he intends to make war upon us, to replace by force this Jew, who calls himſelf king of Spain, upon our throne of Caſtille. What do you ſay to this?' To which ſir Bertrand replied; 'He is ſo valiant and determined a knight that, ſince he has undertaken it, he will exert himſelf to the utmoſt to accompliſh it. I would therefore adviſe you to guard well all the paſſes and defiles on every ſide, ſo that no one may enter or go out of your kingdom without your leave. In the mean time, keep up the affections of your ſubjects. I know for a truth, that you will have great aſſiſtance from many knights in France, who will be happy to ſerve you. I will, with your permiſſion, return thither, where I am ſure of find-

* John Treuelle,—Barnes calls him ſir John Charnelle.

† Sir Rabours. Sir Robert Cheney.—Barnes.

ing ſeveral friends; and I will bring back with me as many as I poſſibly can.' 'By my faith,' replied king Henry, 'you ſay well; and I will, in this buſineſs, follow every thing you ſhall order.'

Not long after, ſir Bertrand took leave of king Henry, and went to Arragon, where he was received with joy by the king; with whom he remained fifteen days, and then departed. He continued his journey to Montpellier, where he found the duke of Anjou, who was very happy to ſee him, as he loved him much. When he had paſſed ſome time there, he took his leave, and went to France, where he had a moſt gracious reception from the king.

When it was publicly known through Spain, Arragon and France, that the intentions of the prince of Wales were to replace don Pedro in the kingdom of Caſtille, it was a matter of great wonder to many, and was variouſly talked of. Some ſaid, the prince was making this expedition through pride and preſumption; that he was jealous of the honor ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin had obtained, in conquering Caſtille in the name of king Henry, and then making him king of it. Others ſaid, that both pity and juſtice moved him to aſſiſt don Pedro in recovering his inheritance; for it was highly unbecoming a baſtard to hold a kingdom, or bear the name of king. Thus were many knights and ſquires divided in their opinions.

King Henry, however, was not idle: he ſent ambaſſadors to the king of Arragon, to entreat of him that he would not enter into any treaty or convention

tion with the prince and his allies; for that he was, and would continue to be, his good neighbour and friend.

The king of Arragon, who eſteemed him much, for in former times he had found don Pedro very overbearing, aſſured him, that upon no account, no, not for the loſs of one half of his kingdom, would he enter into any treaty with the prince nor with don Pedro, but would lay open his kingdom to all ſorts of men who ſhould wiſh to enter Spain to his aſſiſtance, and would ſhut it up from all who had evil intentions againſt him. This king of Arragon kept faithfully all he had promiſed to king Henry; for as ſoon as he knew that don Pedro was aided by the prince, and that the companies were marching that way, he ordered all the paſſes of Arragon to be cloſed, and cauſed them to be ſtrictly guarded. He poſted men at arms and watchmen on the mountains and in the defiles of Catalonia, ſo that no one could paſs that way without great danger.

The companies, however, on their return, found out another road; they had much to endure from famine and other evils before they could be free from danger in Arragon. They advanced to the frontiers of the country of Foix, but could not obtain permiſſion to paſs through it; for the earl was not deſirous that ſuch people ſhould enter his territories.

News was brought of their diſtreſs to the prince, who was then at Bourdeaux, occupying his mind night and day on the beſt means of executing this

expedition with honor. He ſaw that theſe companies could neither paſs nor return into Acquitaine, for the defiles of Arragon and Catalonia were well guarded, and they were now on the borders of the country of Foix very ill at their eaſe. He was therefore alarmed, leſt the king of Arragon or don Henry ſhould gain by force, or by large gifts and promiſes, theſe companies (who were upwards of twelve thouſand men, from whom he expected great aſſiſtance), and they might be engaged to fight againſt him. The prince, therefore, determined to ſend ſir John Chandos to meet and to retain them. He at the ſame time ordered him to wait on the earl of Foix, to beg that, for his love to him, he would allow theſe companies to paſs through his country, and that he would pay double the value for any miſchief they might commit in their march. Sir John Chandos undertook this journey moſt willingly, to oblige his lord: he ſet out from Bourdeaux, and rode on to Dacqs *; thence he continued his route until he arrived in the country of Foix, where he waited on the earl.

He found theſe companies in a country called Baſques †, where he entered into a treaty with them, and

* Dacqs, or Dax,—an ancient city of Gaſcony, on the Adour, forty-two leagues and a half from Bourdeaux, fifteen from Pau. Denys Sauvage thinks it ought to be Auch. This town is certainly more in a direct line to Foix, from Bourdeaux, than Dax. It is d'Aſt in his edition; but my MSS have Dax.

† Baſques. Le pays de Baſques is a ſmall country of France, near the Pyrénées, between the river Adour, the frontiers

and managed it ſo well that they all agreed to ſerve the prince, in his intended expedition, upon having a handſome ſum of money paid down to them, which ſir John Chandos ſwore to ſee done. He again returned to the earl of Foix, and entreated him moſt earneſtly that he would permit thoſe companies, who now belonged to the prince, to paſs through one end of his domain. The earl, who was deſirous of pleaſing the prince, and firmly attached to him, in order to gratify his wiſhes, complied with the requeſt, provided they did no damage to him or to his lands. This ſir John Chandos promiſed to be anſwerable for, and ſent back one of his ſquires, attended by a herald, with the treaty he had made with the earl of Foix, to the commanders of the companies. He then returned to Bourdeaux, and related to the prince his journey, and the ſucceſsful iſſue of it. The prince, who loved him and had great confidence in him, was well pleaſed with both.

The prince was at this time in the full vigour of youth, and had never been weary or ſatiated with war, ſince the firſt time he bore arms, but was always looking forwards to ſome achievement of high renown. This Spaniſh expedition occupied his mind entirely. Both honor and compaſſion urged him to replace on his throne, by force of arms, a king who had been driven from it.

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frontiers of Spain, the ocean and Béarn, It comprehends le Labour, la Baſſe Navarre, and the country of Soule. Bayonne is the capital.

He converſed frequently on this ſubject with ſir John Chandos and ſir William Felton, who were his principal adviſers, and aſked them their opinions. Theſe two knights truly ſaid; 'My lord, this undoubtedly is, without compariſon, a much more difficult enterpriſe than driving him out of his realm; for he was deteſted by his ſubjects, inſomuch that they all fled from him when he moſt wanted their help. The baſtard king at this moment poſſeſſes the kingdom from the affection which the nobility, prelates and commonalty bear him; and therefore they will do every thing in their power to keep and maintain him as their king, whatever may be the conſequences. It behoves you then to have a ſufficient number of archers and men at arms; for you will find, on your entering Spain, work enough for them. We adviſe you alſo to melt the beſt part of your plate and treaſure, of which you are abundantly furniſhed, that it may be coined into money, for you to diſtribute liberally among the companions who are to ſerve under you in this expedition, and who, from affection to you alone, will engage to do ſo; for, as to don Pedro, they will do nothing on his account. You ſhould ſend likewiſe to the king your father, to beg of him to allow you to receive the hundred thouſand francs which the king of France is bound to ſend to England in a ſhort time. You ought alſo to collect money wherever you can procure it (for you will have need of an immenſe quantity), without taxing your ſubjects or country; by which means you will be more beloved by them.'

Theſe

Theſe and ſuch like counſels, equally good and loyal, were at times given by thoſe two knights, and followed by the prince. He had his plate, both gold and ſilver, broken and coined into money, which he liberally diſtributed among the free companies. He alſo ſent to England, to requeſt that he might obtain from the king the hundred thouſand francs before mentioned. The king of England, who knew the wants of the prince, immediately complied, wrote to the king of France on this ſubject, and ſent him proper acquittances for the ſum he was to pay him. The hundred thouſand francs were by this means paid to the prince, who divided them among different men at arms.

During the time the prince paſſed at Angoulême, he was one day amuſing himſelf in his apartment with many knights of Gaſcony, Poitou and England, joking each other alternately upon this Spaniſh expedition, (ſir John Chandos was at the time abſent, on his journey to retain the companies,) when he turned himſelf towards the lord d'Albret, and ſaid; 'My lord d'Albret, how many men can you bring into the field for this expedition?' Lord d'Albret was quick in his anſwer, replying, 'My lord, if I wiſhed to aſk all my friends, that is, all my vaſſals, I can bring full a thouſand lances, and leave a ſufficiency behind to guard the country.' 'By my head, lord d'Albret, that is handſome,' returned the prince: then looking at ſir William Felton and other Engliſh knights, he added in Engliſh, 'On my faith, one ought to love that country well where there is a baron who can attend his lord with a thou-

thouſand lances.' Then, again addreſſing himſelf to the lord d'Albret, he ſaid; 'Lord d'Albret, with great willingneſs I retain them all.' 'Let it be ſo, then, in God's name, my lord,' anſwered the lord d'Albret. This engagement was the cauſe of much miſchief hereafter, as you will ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory.

CHAP. CCXXXII.

THE VISCOUNT OF NARBONNE, THE SENESCHAL OF TOULOUSE, WITH OTHER FRENCH LORDS, HAVING ATTACKED SOME OF THE FREE COMPANIES, THAT WERE COME INTO FRANCE ACCORDING TO THE ORDERS OF THE PRINCE, ARE DISCOMFITED NEAR MONTAUBAN.—THE POPE FORBIDS THE PRISONERS, WHOM THE COMPANIES HAD TAKEN, AND SET FREE ON THEIR PAROLE AFTER THE COMBAT, TO KEEP THEIR FAITH, OR TO PAY ANY RANSOM.

WE muſt now return to thoſe free companies who had become allied and connected with the prince. I have already ſaid, that they had ſuffered very great hardſhips before they entered his principality. As ſoon as they found themſelves clear of all danger from Arragon and Catalonia, they divided themſelves into three bodies, with the conſent of the earls of Foix and Armagnac and the lord d'Albret. One of theſe diviſions marched along the borders of the countries of Foix and Toulouſe; another through the country of Armagnac, and the third towards Albret. The firſt diviſion con-

conſiſted chiefly of Gaſcons; and they might, in the whole, amount to three thouſand; but they had again divided themſelves into companies of three and four hundreds, and thus advanced towards Toulouſe and Montauban.

At this time, there was a knight of France high ſteward of Toulouſe, whoſe name was Guy d'Aſai *. When he learnt that theſe companies were near at hand, that they were advancing in diviſions, and did not amount, in the whole, to more than three thouſand combatants, who were pinched by hunger, badly armed and mounted, and ſtill worſe clothed and ſhod, he declared that no ſuch perſons ſhould enter Toulouſe, nor the kingdom of France, to recruit themſelves; and that, if it pleaſed God, he would march out, to offer them battle.

He directly gave notice of his intentions to the lord Aimeri, viſcount of Narbonne, to the high ſtewards of Carcaſſonne and of Beaucaire, and to all knights, ſquires and officers in that quarter, commanding them to give him aid and aſſiſtance to defend the borders againſt theſe wicked companions. Thoſe who had been ſent to, obeyed, and came with all ſpeed to the city of Toulouſe. They amounted

* Guy d' Aſai. When Bertrand ſaw the duke d'Anjou at Montpellier, he requeſted him to prevent thoſe companies from returning to Acquitaine: he thereupon aſſembled the militia of the country, and collected a force of five hundred lances and four thouſand archers. He gave the command of this army to Guy d'Aſai ſénéſchal de Toulouſe, Arnould d'Eſpagne ſénéſchal de Carcaſſonne, Guy de Prohins ſépéſchal de Beaucaire, and Aimeri viſcount de Narbonne.

Hiſt. de Languedoc, vol. iv. p. 332.

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to five hundred men at arms, knights and ſquires, with upwards of four thouſand infantry, who immediately took the field, and marched towards Montauban, ſeven leagues diſtant from Toulouſe. Thoſe who arrived firſt, and the others as they came in, inſtantly quitted the town, to wait until the whole were aſſembled together.

When the viſcount of Narbonne and ſir Guy d'Aſai, who were the commanders of theſe men at arms, had left Toulouſe, they fixed their quarters near to Montauban, which was at that time dependant on the prince of Wales, who had appointed for its governor a knight called ſir John Combes. Theſe French lords ordered their ſcouts, with the van-guard, to advance to Montauban, in hopes of drawing out ſome of the companions who had lately arrived there, and who were entertained by ſir John Combes.

The governor of Montauban was much ſurpriſed, on hearing that the French were come with a numerous army ſo near to his town, becauſe the territory belonged to the prince: he aſcended, therefore, the battlements of the gates, and, having obtained a hearing from theſe ſcouts, demanded who had ſent them thither, and for what reaſon they had thus come upon the lands of the prince, who was their neighbour, and who had ſworn friendſhip to the king and kingdom of France.

They anſwered him, that they were not charged by the lords who had ſent them thither to give any reaſons for ſo doing; but that, in order to be ſatisfied, he might come himſelf, or ſend any one to their

their commanders, who would give him an anſwer. 'Indeed,' replied the governor of Montauban, 'I ſhall beg of you then to go back, and tell them to ſend me a paſſport, that I may ſafely come to them and return, or let them ſend to inform me fully for what reaſons they have marched in this warlike manner againſt me: for, did I think they were in earneſt to make war, I would immediately inform my lord the prince of it, who would ſpeedily provide a remedy.' They willingly accepted his propoſal, and returned to their lords, to whom they exactly repeated the governor's words.

The paſſport was made out in ſir John's name, and ſent to Montauban. Upon the receipt of it, he ſet out, attended only by four perſons, and went to the quarters of theſe lords, who were ready dreſſed to receive him, and prepared with their anſwers. He ſaluted them, which they returned: he then aſked them their reaſons for ordering troops to advance to the fortreſs which was a dependance on the prince. They replied; 'We wiſh not to invade the rights of any one, nor to make war; but we are determined to purſue our enemies where we know they are.' 'Who are your enemies? and where are they?' demanded the knight.

'In God's name,' anſwered the viſcount of Narbonne, 'they are at this moment in Montauban. They are robbers and pillagers, who have ſeverely oppreſſed the kingdom of France. And you, ſir John, if you had been courteous to your neighbours, ought not thus to have ſupported them in their robberies of poor perſons, without a ſhadow of juſ-

juſtice; for theſe are the cauſes that give riſe to hatred between the great. If you do not therefore drive them out of your fortreſs, you are neither a friend to the king nor kingdom of France.'

'My lords,' replied the governor, 'it is true there are men at arms in my garriſon, whom my lord the prince has ordered thither, and whom I retain for him. I am not therefore inclined to ſend them away thus ſuddenly. If they have given you any cauſe of diſpleaſure, I do not ſee from whom you can right yourſelves; for they are men at arms, and they will ſupport themſelves in their uſual manner, either on the territories of the king of France or on thoſe of the prince.'

The lord of Narbonne and ſir Guy d'Aſai made anſwer by ſaying; 'They are indeed men at arms, but of ſuch a ſort that they cannot exiſt without pillage and robbery, and have very unbecomingly treſpaſſed on our boundaries, for which they ſhall pay dearly, if we could but once meet with them in the open plains. They have burnt, ſtolen, and done many ſhameful acts within the juriſdiction of Toulouſe, complaints of which have been made to us, which if we ſuffer to go unpuniſhed, we ſhall be traitors to the king our lord, who has appointed us to watch over and guard his country. You will therefore tell them from us, for, ſince we know where their quarters are, we can find them, that they ſhall make us amends for their proceedings, or we will fare the worſe for it.'

The governor could not, at that time, get any other anſwer from them. He returned very ill pleaſed,

pleaſed, and ſaid that all their menaces would not make him change his mind. Upon his return, he told the companions all that had paſſed, as well as the meſſage he was to deliver to them. The leaders, on hearing it, were not much ſatisfied; for they were unequal in numbers to the French, ſo that they kept themſelves on their guard as much as they could.

Now it chanced, that exactly five days after this converſation, ſir Perducas d'Albret with a large body of companions were on their march to paſs through Montauban, for that was the direct road into the principality. He ſent information of it to the governor: which when ſir Robert Cheney and the other companions who had ſhut themſelves up in the town heard, they were mightily rejoiced. They ſecretly made ſir Perducas acquainted with the arrival of the French, and how they kept them beſieged, threatening them much: they alſo informed him of the numbers of the French, with the names of their commanders.

When ſir Perducas learnt this, he was no way frightened, but, collecting his men in a body, galloped into Montauban, where he was joyfully received. Upon their arrival, they diſcuſſed among themſelves, what would be moſt adviſable to do: they unanimouſly reſolved, that on the morrow they would arm, iſſue out of the town, and addreſs themſelves to the French, to requeſt they would allow them peaceably to paſs on. If they would not agree to this, and it were abſolutely neceſſary to fight,

fight, they would then exert themſelves, and riſk the event of a battle.

What they had determined the preceding day, they put in execution the following. On the morning, having armed themſelves and mounted their horſes, their trumpets ſounded, when they ſallied out of Montauban. The French had already drawn up before the town, from the alarm of what they ſaw and heard the preceding evening, ſo that the companies could not paſs but through them. Upon this, ſir Perducas d'Albret and ſir Robert Cheney ſtepped forward, to demand a parley of the French, and to beg of them to allow them quietly to paſs. But theſe lords ſent to inform them, they would have nothing to ſay to them, and that they ſhould not paſs but over the points of their ſpears and ſwords. They inſtantly began to ſhout their war-cry, and to call out, 'Advance, advance upon theſe robbers, who pillage the world, and who live upon every one, without reaſon or juſtice.'

When the companions ſaw that they muſt fight in earneſt, or die with diſhonor, they diſmounted, and formed their line, to wait for the French, who advanced very boldly on foot to meet them. Much fighting and purſuing now commenced: many hard blows were given, which knocked down ſeveral on each ſide. The combat was ſevere and long: many gallant deeds were performed, and ſeveral knights and ſquires unhorſed. The French, however, were more in number than the companions by at leaſt two to one. They had not, therefore, any cauſe of

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fear, and, by valiantly fighting, drove the companions far back, even within the barriers. When they were in that ſituation, the combat became more hot: many were killed and wounded on both ſides. It would have been very hard with the companies, if the governor had not ordered all the townſ-people to take arms and aſſiſt, to the utmoſt of their power, thoſe who were attached to the ſervice of their prince.

The inhabitants immediately took to their arms, and united themſelves with the companies in the fray. Even the women, having collected ſtones, aſcended their garrets, whence they flung ſo many on the French that they had ſufficient employment in ſhielding themſelves from them, and by wounding many made them retreat. The companions, upon this, took courage (for they had been fo- a conſiderable time in great peril), and boldly attacked the French. Many as gallant deeds were performed by captures and reſcues as had been ſeen for ſome time, though the companies were but few in compariſon of the French: every man exerted himſelf to do his duty well, and to drive the enemy by force out of the town.

It happened, that during this engagement, the baſtard de Breteuil and Nandon de Bagerant, with about four hundred men whom they commanded, entered the back way into the town. They had marched all night with the greateſt expedition; for they had had information how the French were beſieging their comrades in Montauban. The battle was now renewed with freſh vigour; and the French

were ſadly beaten by theſe new comers. All thoſe combats laſted from eight o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon. At laſt, the French were completely diſcomfited and put to flight: happy were thoſe who could find horſes to mount and eſcape.

The viſcount of Narbonne, ſir Guy d'Aſai, the earl of Uzés, the lord de Montmorillon, the ſénéſchal de Carcaſſonne, the ſénéſchal de Beaucaire, with upwards of a hundred knights, as well of France as of Provence and the adjoining countries, many rich ſquires, and others of large property in Toulouſe and Montpellier, were made priſoners. They would have taken more, if they had purſued them; but, as they were few in number and badly mounted, they were afraid to follow them, contenting themſelves with what they had got.

This battle was fought before Montauban, the vigil of the feaſt of our Lady, in Auguſt 1366. After this defeat, ſir Perducas d'Albret, ſir Robert Cheney, ſir John Combes, the baſtard de Breteuil and Nandon de Bagerant, divided the booty they had gained among themſelves and their companies.

All thoſe who had made any priſoners were to keep them, in order to gain by their ranſom, or to give them their liberty, as they pleaſed. They were very attentive to them, accepting moderate ranſoms, ſuitable to their rank, or the ſtate of their affairs. They were the kinder to them, becauſe this affair had turned out fortunately, and through their own gallantry. Thoſe who had pledged their faith went away, having fixed a time for bringing

bringing their ranſoms to Bourdeaux, or other places more agreeable to them. Each now departed, and returned to his own country. The companies marched to join the prince, who received them very graciouſly, and ſent them to their quarters in a country, called Baſques, which is among the mountains.

I will now relate the end of this buſineſs, in what manner the viſcount of Narbonne, the high ſteward of Toulouſe and the other priſoners, paid their ranſoms.

Pope Urban V. who at this time reigned, hated mortally theſe free companies, whom he had for a long time excommunicated on account of their wicked deeds. Upon being informed of this engagement, and how the viſcount of Narbonne, having exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to ſucceed in his attack upon them, had been miſerably defeated, he was in a great rage. This was increaſed, on learning that, having given pledges for their ranſoms, they were returned home. He immediately ſent expreſſes to them, ſtrictly forbidding them to pay any ranſom, and at the ſame time diſpenſations and abſolutions from all engagements on this ſubject.

Thus were theſe lords, knights and ſquires, who had been made priſoners at Montauban, acquitted of their ranſoms; for they dared not diſobey the orders of the pope. It turned out luckily for ſome, but quite the contrary to the companions, who were expecting the money: indeed they were in want of it, and intended out of it to equip themſelves hand-

ſomely, as ſoldiers ſhould do who have a ſufficiency, but they never received any thing. This order of the pope was ſo hurtful to them that they made frequent complaints of it to ſir John Chandos, who, being conſtable of Acquitaine, had the ſuperintendance of ſuch affairs by right of office: but he turned them off as well as he could, becauſe he was fully acquainted that they were excommunicated by the pope, and that all their thoughts and acts were turned to pillage. I do not believe they ever received any of this debt at any time afterwards.

CHAP. CCXXXIII.

DURING THE TIME THE PRINCE OF WALES IS PREPARING FOR HIS EXPEDITION INTO CASTILLE, THE KING OF MAJORCA SEEKS REFUGE WITH HIM AGAINST THE KING OF ARRAGON. —THE PRINCE DISPLEASES THE LORD D'ALBRET.

WE will now return to the prince of Wales, and ſhew with what perſeverance he continued to make preparations for his expedition. He had, as I have before related, gained over all the free companies, who might be about twelve thouſand fighting men. It had coſt him much to retain as well as to ſubſiſt them, which he did at his own expenſe, from the end of Auguſt until they quitted the principality the beginning of February. In addition to theſe, the prince accepted the ſervices of men at arms

arms from every quarter whence he could obtain them, under his dependance.

From the kingdom of France, there came none; for king Henry had every perſon from that kingdom, on account of the alliances that exiſted between their ſovereign and king Henry, who had alſo ſome of the free companies that came from Brittany, and were attached to ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin: of theſe, ſir Bertrand de Budes, ſir Alain de St. Pol, ſir William de Brueix and ſir Alain de Couvette, were the leaders. The prince might have had foreign men at arms, ſuch as Flemings, Germans and Brabanters, if he had choſen it; but he ſent away numbers, chooſing to depend more on his own ſubjects and vaſſals than on ſtrangers. There came, therefore, to him a great reinforcement from England; for, when the king his father found this expedition was near taking place, he gave leave for his ſon, the duke of Lancaſter, to go to the prince of Wales, with a large body of men at arms; that is to ſay, four hundred men at arms and four hundred archers. As ſoon as the prince heard that his brother was coming to him, he was much rejoiced, and gave orders accordingly.

At this period, the lord James, king of Majorca, came to viſit the prince in the city of Bourdeaux; for ſuch was his title, though he poſſeſſed nothing, the king of Arragon having kept his kingdom from him by force, and cauſed his father to be put to death in priſon, in a city of Arragon called Barcelona. On which account, this king James, to revenge the death of his father, and to recover his

inheritance, had left the kingdom of Naples, whoſe queen was at that time his wife *.

The prince of Wales received the king of Majorca very kindly, and entertained him handſomely. After he had heard from him the reaſons of his coming, and the cauſe why the king of Arragon did him ſo much wrong, in keeping his heritage from him and deſtroying his father, the the prince replied; 'Sir king, I promiſe you moſt loyally, that upon our return from Spain, we will undertake to replace you on your throne of Majorca, either by treaty or by force of arms.'

Theſe promiſes were highly pleaſing to the king. He remained at Bourdeaux with the prince, waiting for his departure for Spain with the others. The prince, through reſpect, equipped him as handſomely as he could; becauſe he was a ſtranger, far diſtant from his own country, and his finances were but low.

Great complaints were daily made to the prince of the bad conduct of the free companies, who were doing all poſſible miſchief to the inhabitants of the countries where they were quartered. They preſſed the prince to haſten his march, who would willingly have complied, if he had not been adviſed to let Chriſtmas paſs over, ſo that he ſhould have winter

* Don Jayme, king of Majorca, married Jane queen of Naples 1363 —FERRARAS.

Towards the end of this year, the infant Philip of Navarre died. *Idem.*—If, as before mentioned, he married Jane, don Jayme muſt have married the widow.

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in his rear. The prince liſtened to this counſel the more, becauſe his lady the princeſs, being far gone with child, was melancholy and ſorrowful at the thoughts of his abſence. He was deſirous to wait until ſhe ſhould be brought to bed, as ſhe wiſhed to detain him.

During this time he was collecting great quantities of purveyances of all kinds; and well he had need to do ſo, for he was about to enter a country where he would find little enough. Whilſt he remained at Bourdeaux, the prince and his council held many conſultations together. It ſeems to me, that the lord d'Albret and his thouſand lances were countermanded, and that the prince, by the advice of his council, wrote to him in ſuch terms as theſe:

'My lord d'Albret, whereas, out of our liberal bounty, we have retained you with a thouſand lances, to ſerve under us in the expedition which, through the grace of God, we intend ſpeedily to undertake, and briefly to finiſh: having duly conſidered the buſineſs, and the coſts and expenſes we are at, as well for thoſe who have entered into our ſervice as for the free companies, whoſe number is ſo great that we do not wiſh to leave them behind, for fear of the dangers which may happen, we have reſolved that ſeveral of our vaſſals ſhould remain, in order to guard the territories. For theſe cauſes, it has been determined in our council, that you ſhall ſerve in this expedition with two hundred lances only, as has been written to you. You will chooſe them out from the reſt; and the remainder you will leave to follow their uſual occupations. May

God have you under his holy protection!—Given at Bourdeaux, the eighth day of December.'

Theſe letters were ſealed with the great ſeal of the prince of Wales, and ſent to the lord d'Albret, who was in his own country, buſily employed making his preparations; for it was daily reported that the prince was on the point of ſetting out.

When he received theſe letters from the prince, he opened them deliberately, and read them twice over, in order the better to comprehend them; for what he ſaw of their contents aſtoniſhed him greatly. Being mightily vexed, he exclaimed, 'How is this? My lord the prince of Wales laughs at me, when he orders me to diſband eight hundred knights and ſquires, whom, by his command, I have retained, and have diverted from other means of obtaining profit and honor.' In his rage, he called for a ſecretary, and ſaid to him, 'Write'; and the ſecretary wrote as follows from his dictating.

'My dear lord,—I am marvellouſly ſurpriſed at the contents of the letters you have ſent me; and I neither know nor can imagine what anſwer to make to them. Your orders will be to me of the greateſt prejudice, and ſubject me to much blame; for all the men at arms, whom I have retained by your commands, are ready prepared to do you ſervice, and I have prevented them ſeeking for honor and profit elſewhere. Some of theſe knights were engaged to paſs the ſea, to Jeruſalem, to Conſtantinople or to Pruſſia, in order to advance themſelves. They will, therefore, be much diſpleaſed if left behind. I am equally ſo, and cannot conceive for what

what reaſon I have deſerved this treatment. My dear lord, have the goodneſs to underſtand I cannot ſeparate myſelf from them. I am the worſt and leaſt among them; and, if any of them be diſmiſſed, I am convinced they will all go their ways. May God keep you in his holy protection!—Given,' &c.

When the prince of Wales received this anſwer, he looked upon it as a very preſumptuous one; as did alſo ſome knights from England, who were preſent, and of his council. The prince ſhook his head, and ſaid in Engliſh (as I was told, for at the time I was not at Bourdeaux); 'This lord d'Albret is too great a man for my country, when he thus wiſhes to diſobey the orders of my council: but, by God, it ſhall not be as he thinks to have it. Let him ſtay behind, if he will: for we will perform this expedition, if it pleaſe God, without his thouſand lances.' Some Engliſh knights added; 'My lord, you are but little acquainted with the thoughts of theſe Gaſcons, nor how vainglorious they are: they have but little love for us, nor have they had much for ſome time paſt. Do you not remember how arrogantly they behaved to you when king John of France was firſt brought to Bourdeaux? They then declared publicly, that it was by their means alone you had ſucceeded at Poitiers, and made the king of France your priſoner. It is apparent that they had intended carrying things farther; for you were upwards of four months negotiating with them before they would conſent that king John ſhould be carried to England, and it was

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firſt neceſſary for you to comply with their demands in order to preſerve their attachment.'

Upon hearing this, the prince was ſilent, but did not the leſs occupy his thoughts with what had juſt been ſaid.

This was the firſt ground of the hatred between the prince of Wales and the lord d'Albret. The lord d'Albret was at the time in great peril; for the prince was of a high overbearing ſpirit, and cruel in his hatred: he would, right or wrong, that every lord who was under his command ſhould be dependant on him: but the earl of Armagnac, uncle to the lord d'Albret, hearing of this quarrel between the prince and his nephew, came to Bourdeaux to wait on the prince. Sir John Chandos and ſir William Felton (by whoſe advice and counſels the prince ſolely acted) managed the matter ſo well that the prince was appeaſed, and ſaid nothing more. However, the lord d'Albret received orders to join with only two hundred lances, which was equally diſagreeable to him and to his vaſſals: they never afterwards were ſo affectionate to the prince as they had formerly been. They were forced, nevertheleſs, to bear this diſappointment as well as they could, for they had no remedy for it.

CHAP. CCXXXIV.

THE BIRTH OF RICHARD, SON OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, TO ACCOMPANY HIS BROTHER ON HIS INTENDED EXPEDITION.—NEW TREATIES WITH THE KING OF NAVARRE, FOR THE SECURITY OF PASSING THROUGH HIS KINGDOM.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN RETURNS TO THE ASSISTANCE OF KING HENRY.

TIME paſſed away ſo quickly while the prince was collecting his ſtores, and waiting the arrival of his brother the duke of Lancaſter, that the princeſs was taken in labour, and, through God's grace, delivered of a fine boy on a Wedneſday, the feaſt of the Epiphany, in the year 1366. The child was born about eight o'clock in the morning.

The prince and his whole houſehold were very much rejoiced at this event. On the following Friday, he was baptized, about noon, at the holy font of St. Andrew's church in the city of Bourdeaux. The archbiſhop of Bourdeaux performed the ceremony: the biſhop of Agen and the king of Majorca were his godfathers. They gave him the name of Richard: he was afterwards king of England, as you will hear in the continuation of this hiſtory.

On the enſuing Sunday, the prince ſet out from Bourdeaux, with a grand army, about eight o'clock in the morning: he carried with him all the men at arms who had been quartered there. The greater

part of his force had already marched forward, and were cantoned in the city of Dax in Gaſcony. The prince arrived that Sunday evening at Dax, where he halted, and remained for three days; for he was there informed that his brother the duke of Lancaſter, was on the road to him, having croſſed the ſea to Brittany, where he had landed a fortnight ſince, at St. Mahé de fine Pôterne: he went thence to Nantes, where he was magnificently entertained by the duke of Brittany.

The duke of Lancaſter continued his route, through Poitou and Saintonge, to Blaye, where he croſſed the river Gironde, and landed at the quay at Bourdeaux. He went to the monaſtery of St. Andrew, where the princeſs lay in, and was joyfully welcomed by her and by all the ladies of her court. At this time, however, the duke would not remain in Bourdeaux: but, having bid adieu to his ſiſter the princeſs, he and all his troops departed, never halting until they were arrived in the city of Dax, where he found his brother the prince of Wales.

The two brothers were very happy in this meeting, for they had a mutual affection for each other; and many proofs of friendſhip paſſed between them and their men. Soon after the arrival of the duke of Lancaſter, the earl of Foix came thither, who paid much court and reſpect, at leaſt in outward appearance, to the prince and his brother, offering himſelf and vaſſals for their ſervice.

The prince, who knew how to pay every honor and attention according as they were due, ſhewed him all reſpect, thanking him much for his obliging offers,

offers, and for having come to viſit them. He afterwards gave him in charge the government of the country, and deſired that, during his abſence, he would be attentive to guard it. The earl very willingly accepted this charge: having taken his leave of the prince and the duke, he returned to his home. The prince, however, remained at Dax, with his army, which was ſpread all over the country, as far as the entrance of the defiles which lead to Navarre; for they were uncertain if they could paſs through them or not, or if the king of Navarre would lay open his country to them, according to his treaty.

It had been currently reported, that he had entered into new conventions with king Henry, which had much aſtoniſhed the prince and his council, and made don Pedro very melancholy. Whilſt theſe reports were believed, and during the ſtay at Dax, ſir Hugh Calverley and his men entered Navarre, and took the city of Miranda and the town of Puenta della Reyna, which alarmed the whole country, ſo that information was immediately ſent of it to the king of Navarre.

Upon hearing that the companies were forcibly entering his kingdom, he was much enraged, and wrote to the prince, who made very light of it, becauſe he thought the king of Navarre did not perform the articles of his treaty with don Pedro: he therefore wrote back to him, to come himſelf, or to ſend ſome perſon to explain thoſe things which were laid to his charge, as it was publicly reported he had changed ſides, and had joined king Henry.

When

When the king of Navarre heard that he was accuſed of treachery, he was more enraged than before, and ſent an experienced knight, called don Martin de la Carra, to wait on the prince. When he arrived in the city of Dax, to exculpate the king of Navarre, he ſpoke ſo ably and eloquently to the prince that he ſatisfied him. It was then agreed that he ſhould return to Navarre to his king, and induce him to come to St. Jean Pied de Port *, where, when he ſhould be arrived, the prince would conſider whether he would meet him in perſon or not.

Upon this, don Martin de la Carra quitted the prince, and returned to Navarre, where he related to the king all that had paſſed, in what diſpoſition he had left the prince and his council, and upon what terms he had been ſent back. Don Martin exerted himſelf ſo much that he brought the king to St. Jean Pied de Port: he himſelf went to wait on the prince at Dax. When it was known that the king of Navarre was on his road, the prince was adviſed to ſend, to meet him, his brother the duke of Lancaſter and ſir John Chandos. Theſe two lords, with a few attendants, ſet out, accompanied by don Martin, who conducted them to St. Jean Pied de Port to the king of Navarre, who very graciouſly received them, and they had a long conference together. It was after ſome time ſettled, that the king of Navarre ſhould advance, to meet the prince, to a place called

* St. Jean Pied de Port,—a ſmall town in Navarre, on the Nive, and at the foot of the Pyrénées.

in

in that country Peyre Hourarde *, where the prince and don Pedro ſhould be; and that then and there they ſhould renew their treaties, ſo that each party might for a certainty know on what he was to depend. The king of Navarre was thus diſſembling, becauſe he wiſhed to be more ſure of the articles of the treaty being complied with than he was at that moment; for he was afraid, that if theſe companies ſhould once enter his territories before what he demanded was fully ſigned and agreed to, it would never be thought of afterwards.

The duke of Lancaſter and ſir John Chandos, having finiſhed their buſineſs, returned, and related what they had done to the prince and don Pedro. This agreement was ſatisfactory to both of them. They kept the appointment, and went to the place fixed on, where they met the king of Navarre and his privy council. There were at Peyre Hourarde theſe three princes, the prince of Wales, don Pedro and the duke of Lancaſter, on one part, and the king of Navarre on the other, where long conferences were held between them. At laſt, it was finally ſettled what each party was to receive and to perform; and the treaties which had been made before, at Bayonne, were renewed. The king of Navarre then knew for certain what was to be given up to him in the kingdom of Caſtille. He ſwore to maintain and preſerve faithfully peace and friendſhip with don Pedro. They broke up their conferences very amicably, having ſettled that the prince and his army might paſs through his country when-

* Peyre Hourarde,—a town in Gaſcony, dioceſe of Dax.

ever

ever he pleaſed, as all the defiles were left unguarded; and proviſion would be had for the men, upon paying for it. The king of Navarre returned to the city of Pampeluna, and the king don Pedro, the prince and his brother, to their quarters at Dax.

There were at this time many great barons from Poitou, Gaſcony and Brittany, who had not joined the army of the prince. They had remained behind, becauſe, as has been before ſaid, it was not quite clear, until after this laſt conference, if the prince would have a free paſſage through Navarre. It was even thought in France, that it would be refuſed him, and that the king of Navarre would cauſe this expedition to fail. However, the contrary happened.

When the knights and ſquires of each party found that the paſſage was open, they haſtened their preparations, and made ſpeed to join their friends; for they knew the prince would paſs ſoon, and that he would not return without a battle.

Sir Olivier de Cliſſon came with a handſome company of men at arms; and alſo, but very unwillingly, came laſt, the lord d'Albret, with two hundred lances: he was accompanied in this expedition by the captal de Buch.

Every thing which had paſſed in theſe conferences was known in France; for there were meſſengers conſtantly going and coming, who carried with them all the news they could pick up. Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin (who was with the duke of Anjou) was no ſooner informed that the paſſes in Navarre were open, and that the prince was on his march, than he

haſtened

haſtened his departure, and reiterated his ſummons; for he knew now, that this buſineſs would not be ſettled without an engagement. He took the road to Arragon, in order to join king Henry as ſpeedily as poſſible. He was followed by all ſorts of men at arms to whom he had ſent his orders. Many came from France and other countries, who were attached to him, or who were deſirous of acquiring honor. We will now return to the prince, and relate what befel him and his army in his paſſage through Navarre.

CHAP. CCXXXV.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AND HIS ARMY PASS THE MOUNTAINS OF NAVARRE, AND ARRIVE AT PAMPELUNA.—KING HENRY OF CASTILLE WRITES LETTERS TO HIM.—SIR WILLIAM FELTON COMMANDS AN ADVANCED PARTY OF THE ARMY.

BETWEEN St. Jean Pied de Port and Pampeluna are the defiles and ſtrong paſſes of Navarre, which are very dangerous; for there are a hundred ſituations among them which a handful of men would guard and ſhut up againſt a whole army.

It was very cold in theſe countries when the army paſſed, for it was the month of February. But before they began their march, though very eager to get forward, the principal leaders held a council to determine in what numbers and in what manner

they ſhould march through theſe mountains. They learnt that the whole army could not paſs together; for which reaſon, they ordered it to be divided into three bodies, and to paſs one at a time three days ſucceſſively; that is to ſay, on the Monday, Tueſday and Wedneſday.

On the Monday, the van-guard marched, under the command of the duke of Lancaſter. He was accompanied by the conſtable of Acquitaine, ſir John Chandos, who had under him full twelve hundred pennons, all ornamented with his arms, which were a ſharp pile gules, on a field argent *. It was a handſome ſight to behold. The two marſhals of Acquitaine were alſo in this firſt diviſion, namely, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle and ſir Stephen Coſſington, with whom was the pennon of St. George. There were alſo in this diviſion, with the duke, ſir William Beauchamp †, ſon of the earl of Warwick, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Ralph Neville ‡, who ſerved under ſir John Chandos with thirty lances at his own expenſe and charges, out of what he had gained at the battle of Auray. There were likewiſe the lord d'Aubeterre, ſir Garſes du Chatillon, ſir Richard Cauſton, ſir Robert Cheney, ſir Robert Briquet, ſir John Tyrrel, ſir Aimery de Rochechouart, ſir Gaillart de la Moitre, ſir William Clayton, Villebos le Bouteiller et Pannetier §. All theſe, with their pennons, were

* Barnes. See the arms in Aſhmole.

† Barnes ſays, he was lord Abergavenny, and fourth ſon to the earl of Warwick.

‡ Lord Ralph Neville.—Barnes.

§ Villebos le Bouteiller et Pannetier. Barnes calls him ſir William

were under the command of ſir John Chandos, and might amount in the whole to ten thouſand cavalry, who all croſſed the mountains, as before related, on the Monday.

On the Tueſday, paſſed the prince of Wales and don Pedro, accompanied by the king of Navarre, who had returned to them, in order to ſerve as their guide. In this diviſion of the prince were the lord Louis de Harcourt, the viſcount de Châtelleraut, the viſcount de Rochechouart, the lords de Partenay and de Pinane, ſir William Felton high ſteward of Acquitaine, ſir Thomas Felton his brother, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, the high ſtewards of Saintonge, of la Rochelle, of Quercy, of Limouſin, of Agenois, of Bigorre, the lord de Cannaibouton and all the men of Poitou, ſir Richard de Pontchardon, ſir Nêle Loring, the earl of Angus, ſir Thomas Banaſter *, ſir Louis de Merval, ſir Aymon de Marnel, the lord de Pierre-Buffiere, and four thouſand men at arms at leaſt: there were in the whole about ten thouſand horſe. This Tueſday was bitter cold, with a ſharp wind, and ſnow, ſo that their march was very painful: however, they paſſed the mountains, and took up their quarters in the valley of Pampe-

William Boteler, or Butler, of Overſley in Warwickſhire; but I ſee no authority for it. Some of the other names I have altered from Barnes, as being probable: but lord Berners, who ought to have been better informed, keeps the very names in Froiſſart, who, from being a foreigner, might eaſily miſtake them.

* Sir Thomas Banaſter,—fifty-ſixth knight of the Garter. See his life in Anſtis' Garter.

luna. The king of Navarre, indeed, conducted the prince of Wales and don Pedro to the city of Pampeluna to ſupper, and entertained them handſomely, as he was well enabled to do.

The king of Majorca croſſed theſe mountains on the Wedneſday, accompanied by the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret his nephew, ſir Bernard d'Albret, lord de Gironde, the earl of Perigord, the viſcount de Carmaing, the earl of Comminges, the captal de Buch, ſir Olivier de Cliſſon, the three brothers de Pommiers, ſir John, ſir Elias, and ſir Edmund, the lords de Chaumont and de Mucident, ſir Robert Knolles, the lords de l'Eſparre, de Condon, de Roſem, the ſouldich de la Trane *, ſir Petiton de Courton, ſir Aimery de Tarſe, the lord de la Barde, ſir Bertrand de Caude, the lord de Pincornet, ſir Thomas Winſtanley, ſir Perducas d'Albret, the baſtard de Breteuil, Nandon de Bagerant, Bertrand de la Salle, Ortingo, La Nuit and all the other captains of the free companies, amounting to full ten thouſand horſe. They had much better weather than the preceding diviſion which croſſed on the Tueſday. All theſe different bodies of men at arms were encamped in the vale of Pampeluna, to recruit their horſes. They remained in the country about Pampeluna (where they found abundance of proviſion, ſuch as meat, bread, wine, and all ſorts of food for themſelves and horſes) until the following Sunday.

* Souldich de la Trane. See Anſtis.

I muſt

I muſt ſay, that all theſe companies did not pay the demands which were made upon them; nor could they abſtain from pillaging as heretofore; they alſo cauſed great diſturbances in the country round Pampeluna, as well as on their march. The king of Navarre was much vexed at this; but better himſelf he could not: he repented more than once that he had ever conſented to the paſſage of the prince and his army through his dominions, or that he had left unguarded the defiles; for there was more loſs than profit by what he had done. This, however, was not the time to ſhew what his thoughts were; for he was not then maſter of his own country. He daily received great complaints from his ſubjects on this head, which, though the circumſtance grieved him much, he could not remedy. Nevertheleſs, he entreated the men at arms of the prince, by means of ſome of his principal barons, who had ſerved longeſt with them in Normandy and in other places in France, that they would refrain from robbing the country in the manner they were doing, which they promiſed and engaged to do.

King Henry was duly informed of the march of the prince of Wales through Navarre, for he had his meſſengers and ſpies conſtantly upon the look-out. He was therefore increaſing his forces as much as poſſible by earneſt and kind entreaties to the knights of Caſtille (of which he had aſſumed the title of king), in order to have a ſufficient army to reſiſt the attack. He alſo impatiently expected the arrival of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, with great reinforcements from France. He had beſides iſſued

ſpecial orders throughout the kingdom, to all his vaſſals, under pain of death, that each, according to his rank, ſhould immediately come to his aſſiſtance, and to defend the realm. This king Henry was much beloved, as the Caſtillans had exerted themſelves in aiding him to drive don Pedro out of the kingdom: they therefore willingly obeyed his ſummons, and flocked in great numbers every day to the rendezvous he had appointed at St. Domingo de la Calçada. They amounted in all to upwards of ſixty thouſand, as well horſe as foot, ready to act for him, and reſolved to live or die for his ſervice.

Upon king Henry having ſure intelligence that the prince of Wales, with his whole army had paſſed the ſtraits of Roncevalles, and was in the kingdom of Navarre, whence he was about to advance towards him, he knew that a battle muſt be the conſequence. This ſeemed to give him great pleaſure, and he ſaid aloud; 'The prince of Wales is a valiant and worthy knight; and in order that he may know I am waiting for him, to defend my right, I will write him a part of my mind.' He then called for a ſecretary, who advancing into his preſence, 'Write,' ſaid king Henry to him, 'a letter in ſuch terms as theſe:

'To the high, puiſſant and honorable lord, the prince of Wales and of Acquitaine.

'My lord,—We have been informed, that you have with an army paſſed the mountains, and have entered into treaties and alliances with our enemy, to make war upon, and to haraſs us: all this has cauſed in us much aſtoniſhment: for we have not done

one any thing, nor ever had the ſmalleſt hoſtile intentions againſt you, that ſhould juſtify your advancing hitherward with a large army, to deprive us of the ſmall inheritance which it has pleaſed God to give us. But as you are the moſt powerful and the moſt fortunate prince of the age, we flatter ourſelves and hope that you glorify yourſelf in it. Since we have received certain intelligence that you ſeek us in order to offer us battle, if you will have the goodneſs to inform us by what road your intentions are to enter Caſtille, we will advance to meet you, in order to guard and defend our realm.—Given,' &c.

When this letter was written, king Henry had it ſealed, and calling his own herald to him, ſaid; 'Go thou as faſt as poſſible, by the neareſt road to the prince of Wales, and give him from me this letter.' The herald replied, 'Willingly, my lord.' He left the king, and, taking the road to Navarre, came up to the prince; when, bending on his knee, he delivered to him the letter from king Henry. The prince made the herald riſe, and taking the letter, opened it, and read it twice over, the better to underſtand it. When he had read, and conſidered a little its contents, he ordered part of his council to be ſummoned, telling the herald to quit the place where the council was to be held.

When the council was aſſembled, he read again the letter, and explained it to them word for word: after which, he aſked their advice upon it. Whilſt they were thinking what advice to give, the prince ſaid; 'This baſtard is a gallant knight, and of good

proweſs; for he muſt be a valiant gentleman to write me ſuch a letter.' The prince and his council were a conſiderable time together, for they could not agree as to what anſwer they ſhould ſend. They ſaid to the herald; 'My friend, you cannot yet ſet out on your return. When it ſhall ſuit my lord the prince, he will write back by you, and by no one elſe: you will, therefore, tarry with us until you have your anſwer, for the prince wiſhes it to be ſo.' The herald anſwered, 'Pleaſe God, it ſhall be as you ſay.' He remained, therefore, with them quite at his eaſe.

The evening of the ſame day that the herald had brought this letter, ſir William Felton came to the prince, and aſked him a favor. The prince, who was ignorant what he wanted, demanded what favor he had to requeſt: 'My lord,' replied ſir William, 'I entreat permiſſion to quit the army, and make an excurſion into the enemy's country; for I have many knights and ſquires under my command, as good men as myſelf, that are anxious to do ſomething worthy of notice. I promiſe you, if you will permit us to ride forward, we will ſee what appearance the enemy makes, and where their quarters are.' The prince immediately granted his requeſt, as he was pleaſed with him for having made it.

Sir William Felton left the prince's army, as the leader of this expedition, accompanied by the following knights: ſir Thomas Felton his brother, ſir Thomas Hufford, ſir Robert Knolles, ſir Gaillard Viguier, ſir Ralph Haſtings, the earl of Angus, and ſeveral other knights and ſquires. They were in all

one

one hundred and ſixty lances, well mounted, and three hundred archers. There were alſo with him, ſir Hugh Stafford, ſir Richard Cauſton and ſir Simon Burley, who are not men to be forgotten.

This body rode on through the kingdom of Navarre, under the direction of guides, who conducted them to the river Ebro, which, at Logrono, is very deep and rapid. They, however, advanced beyond it, and took up their quarters at a village called Navarete: there they halted, in order to be the better informed where king Henry was, and to learn the ſtate of his army.

CHAP. CCXXXVI.

THE KING OF NAVARRE IS MADE PRISONER BY SIR OLIVIER DE MAUNY, A BRETON AND PARTISAN OF KING HENRY.—THE PRINCE OF WALES ADVANCES TO SALVATIERRA, IN SPAIN.—SIR WILLIAM FELTON SKIRMISHES WITH THE ENEMY NEAR THE QUARTERS OF THE KING OF SPAIN.—THE TWO ARMIES ADVANCE TOWARDS EACH OTHER.

WHILST all theſe things were going on, the knights remained at Navarete, and the prince and his army in the country round Pampeluna. The king of Navarre, in riding from one town to another on the ſide where the French lay, was made priſoner by ſir Olivier de Mauny. The prince and all the Engliſh were much aſtoniſhed at it: ſome in the army thought it might have been done deſignedly,

edly, in order to prevent his accompanying the prince farther in this expedition, as he was uncertain what would be the iſſue of the buſineſs between king Henry and don Pedro *.

Although there was no one who was not clear as to the cauſe of this capture, the lady his queen was much alarmed and diſpirited at it. She caſt herſelf at the feet of the prince, exclaiming, 'for God's mercy, my dear lord, have the goodneſs to inquire about the king my lord, who has been treacherouſly made priſoner by ſome means unknown to us; and exert yourſelf in ſuch a manner that, through pity to us and the love of God, we may have him back again.' The prince courteouſly replied as follows: 'Certainly, fair lady and couſin, this capture is highly diſpleaſing to us; and we will provide ſhortly a remedy for it. I beg, therefore, you will not be caſt down, but take comfort; for when once this expedition is over, he ſhall be delivered: this I faithfully promiſe, for I will attend to nothing elſe: immediately on our return, you ſhall have him reſtored to you.'

The queen of Navarre then departed. But one of her noble knights, called don Martin de la Carra, undertook to conduct the prince through the kingdom of Navarre, and to procure guides for the army; otherwiſe they would not have been able to

* This was a trick of the king of Navarre, thinking to exculpate himſelf for having ſuffered the prince of Wales to paſs through his ſtrong country, for he had, before his laſt treaty with the prince, entered into one of a contrary tendency with the king of Arragon and king Henry.

have

have found the roads, or the eaſieſt paſſes through the mountains.

The prince broke up his encampment, and began his march. They came to a place called Echarriaranas, where they met with many difficulties; for it was a narrow paſs, with very bad roads. In addition to this, there was great ſcarcity of proviſion; for they found nothing on this road until they arrived at Salvatierra, which is a very good town, ſituated in a fertile and rich country according to the appearance of the adjoining lands *. This town of Salvatierra is on the confines of Navarre, on the road to Spain, and was attached to king Henry.

The whole army ſpread itſelf over the country. The free companies advanced eagerly towards Salvatierra, in hopes to take it by aſſault and plunder it: they much wiſhed to do ſo: for they had learnt there were great riches collected, which had been brought thither from all the neighbourhood, confiding in the ſtrength of its caſtle. The inhabitants of Salvatierra, however, were too wiſe to wait for this danger: they well knew they could not withſtand the great army of the prince, if he ſhould think proper to lead it againſt them: they came and ſurrendered themſelves to don Pedro, craving his pardon, and preſenting to him the keys of their town. By the advice of the prince, don Pedro for-

* According to the map of Spain by Jaillot, 1781, Salvatierra is in the diviſion of Guipiſcoa, in the principality of Biſcay.

gave

gave them, or they would have fared worſe, for he wiſhed to deſtroy them: however, they were all pardoned; and the prince, don Pedro, the king of Majorca and the duke of Lancaſter entered the town, where they took up their quarters: the earl of Armagnac and the reſt lodged themſelves in the villages round about.

We will for a while leave the prince, to ſpeak of that advanced corps which was in Navarete. The before-named knights, who had remained there, were very deſirous of diſtinguiſhing themſelves: for they had advanced five days march before their main army. They made frequent excurſions from Navarete to the country of their enemies, to find out where they lay, and what they were doing. King Henry was encamped in the open plain, with his whole army. He was deſirous of hearing ſome intelligence of the prince, and much ſurpriſed that his herald did not return.

His people made alſo daily excurſions, to learn ſomething of the Engliſh, and even advanced near to Navarete; ſo that don Tello, brother to king Henry, was informed there was an enemy's garriſon in that town; which made him reſolve to go thither with a greater force, in a more regular manner, to ſee if what he had heard were true.

But before this was done, it happened that the Engliſh knights made, one evening ſo long an excurſion, that they fell in with king Henry's quarters. A grand ſkirmiſh was the conſequence, which threw the whole army into a great alarm. They ſlew ſome, and made ſeveral priſoners: in particular,

ticular, the knight who commanded the guard was taken, without loſs to themſelves, and carried clear off. On the morrow, they ſent a herald to the prince, who was at Salvatierra, to inform him what they had diſcovered. They told him the ſituation the enemy had choſen, and what numbers they conſiſted of; for they had obtained every information from their priſoners. The prince was delighted with this intelligence, and with the good ſucceſs of his knights.

King Henry was much enraged that the Engliſh who were quartered at Navarete ſhould thus alarm his army, and ſaid that he would advance towards them. He therefore decamped with all his army, deſigned to fix his quarters in the plains near Vittoria: he croſſed the river * which runs near Navarete, in order to march to that country.

Sir William Felton, as ſoon as he heard that don Henry had paſſed the river, and was on his march towards the prince, held a council of all the knights who were with him. They determined to quit their preſent quarters, and take the field, in order to be ſatisfied of the truth in regard to the Spaniards. They therefore marched from Navarete, ſending in-

* I imagine this muſt be the Ebro; for by the map, there is no river that runs near Navarete which it was neceſſary for don Henry to croſs in his march from St. Domingo de la Calçada, where he was encamped, to Vittoria in Biſcay.

Barnes ſays, don Henry advanced as far as St. Miguel to meet the Engliſh; but it is not ſo in my copies, nor can I find St. Miguel in my maps. It ſeems, however, probable, as Vittoria was far diſtant, and out of the line to Navarete.

formation

formation to the prince, that king Henry was advancing towards him in great force, and that, from appearances, he ſeemed deſirous to meet him.

When the prince received the news at Salvatierra, where he ſtill was, that king Henry had croſſed the river, and was on his march to meet him, he was right glad, and ſaid aloud to thoſe about him; 'By my faith, this baſtard is a bold and gallant knight, and ſhews great valour and enterprize in thus coming to ſeek us. Since he is as eager to find us as we are deſirous of meeting him, it is moſt probable it will ſo happen, and a combat enſue. Our beſt way, therefore, will be to decamp hence immediately, in order to gain poſſeſſion of Vittoria before our enemies.'

The prince and his army marched from Salvatierra very early the following morning, and halted at Vittoria, where he found ſir William Felton and his party, whom he graciouſly entertained, aſking them different queſtions. Whilſt they were thus diſcourſing, the ſcouts brought news that they had ſeen the ſcouts of the enemy, and were certain that king Henry and his whole army were not far diſtant, from the ſignals they had obſerved, and from the demeanour of the Spaniards.

The prince, on hearing this, ordered the trumpets to ſound an alarum through the army; which being heard, every man made for his poſt: they were all inſtantly drawn up in regular order of battle: for each man had been informed what he was to do before he had left Salvatierra, ſo that every man made directly for his banner. It was a noble ſight

to ſee ſo great a number of banners and pennons, ornamented with different arms.

The van-guard was excellently well drawn up, under the command of the duke of Lancaſter. With him were, ſir John Chandos, conſtable of Acquitaine, with a great retinue, and in fine order. Many received the order of knighthood. The duke of Lancaſter, in the van-guard, knighted as many as twelve: among whom were, ſir Ralph Camois, ſir Walter Loring, and ſir Thomas Danvery. Sir John Chandos advanced ſome good ſquires to that honor in his diviſion; ſuch as M. Cotton, M. Clifton, M. Prior, William Firmeton, Aimery de Rochechouart, Girard de la Motte and Robert Briquet.

The prince made alſo ſeveral knights: firſt, don Pedro king of Spain, ſir Thomas Holland, the ſon of the princeſs his lady, ſir Philip and ſir Denis Courtenay, ſir John Covet, ſir Nicholas Bond, and many more. The other lords beſtowed ſimilar honors in their battalions; ſo that there were made upwards of three hundred knights, who remained drawn up the whole day, waiting for their enemies, to give them battle, if they had advanced to them; but they did not come nearer than where the ſcouts were.

King Henry was expecting great reinforcements from Arragon; and he waited alſo for ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, who was coming to his aſſiſtance with upwards of four thouſand combatants; for he was not deſirous of engaging before their arrival. The prince was not diſpleaſed at this delay; for his rear-diviſions, which conſiſted of more than ſix thouſand men,

men, were above ſeven country leagues behind. The prince was, during the whole time he lay before Vittoria, in the greateſt anguiſh of mind at their being ſo long in coming up to him. Nevertheleſs, had the Spaniards thought proper to advance nearer them with the intent of offering battle, the prince without waiting for this diviſion would not have refuſed the combat.

CHAP. CCXXXVII.

THE ARRIVAL OF SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, TO THE AID OF KING HENRY.—DON TELLO ATTACKS THE ADVANCED GUARD OF THE PRINCE OF WALES,—DEFEATS SIR WILLIAM FELTON AND HIS BODY OF MEN.

WHEN evening came, the two marſhals, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle and ſir Stephen Coſſington, ordered every man to retire to his quarters; but, on the trumpets ſounding on the morrow morning, they were all to take the field in the ſame poſition they had done before. Every one obeyed theſe orders, except ſir William Felton and his company, whom I have before mentioned. They left the prince that ſame evening, and advanced farther into the country, to learn the ſtate of the enemy: they took up their quarters about two leagues diſtant from their army.

Don Tello happening this very evening to be in his brother king Henry's tent, converſing on various topics, ſaid to the king; 'Sire, you know that our enemies

enemies are encamped very near us, and yet none of our men think of beating up their quarters. I therefore entreat you will give me permiſſion to make an excurſion towards them to-morrow morning, with a detached body of the army, who are well inclined: I promiſe you to advance ſo far that we will bring you back certain news of them, and what they are about.' King Henry, obſerving the eagerneſs of his brother, wiſhed not to baulk him, and gave him his conſent directly.

At this ſame hour, ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, with upwards of four thouſand fighting men, arrived at the army, from France and Arragon. The king was much rejoiced at this: he received them in the moſt honorable and gracious manner, as was becoming him to do.

Don Tello was anxious not to let his plan ſleep, but immediately mentioned it to ſeveral of his friends who he knew would join him. He would have done the ſame to ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, ſir Arnold d'Andreghen, the bègue de Villaines and the Viſcount de Roquebertin, if he had dared; but, as they were juſt arrived, he did not: beſides, king Henry had forbidden him to ſpeak to them on this ſubject. Don Tello, therefore, left them alone. Nevertheleſs he had with him ſome French and Arragonian knights, who had been with the army the whole ſeaſon: he had exerted himſelf ſo much that, in the whole, he had collected a body of more than ſix thouſand horſemen, well mounted and accoutred. His brother, don Sancho, accompanied him.

At the firſt break of day, they were all ready mounted. They left the army, advancing in good order towards the quarters of the Engliſh. About ſun-riſe, they met, in a valley, part of ſir Hugh Calverley's company, with his baggage, who had ſlept about a league diſtant from the main army, and alſo ſir Hugh himſelf. When the Spaniards and French perceived them, they immediately attacked and defeated them. The greater part were ſlain, and the baggage ſeized: but ſir Hugh, who was behind, had taken another road: he was, however, ſeen, purſued, and forced to fly with all his attendants, as faſt as they could, to the army of the duke of Lancaſter.

The Spaniards, who were upwards of ſix thouſand in one body, rode on, and made a violent aſſault upon the outſkirts of the quarters of the van-guard, under the command of the duke of Lancaſter. They began to ſhout, 'Caſtille!' with loud cries, to overthrow tents, huts and every thing that came in their way, killing and wounding all that oppoſed them, ſo that when the van-guard heard this noiſe, the leaders as well as men were alarmed, and haſtened to arm themſelves and draw up before the lodgings of the duke of Lancaſter, who was already armed, with his banner flying in front. The Engliſh and Gaſcons hurried to the field, each lord to his banner or pennon, according to the arrangements made at Salvatierra, ſuppoſing they were inſtantly to have a general engagement.

The duke of Lancaſter marched ſtraight for a ſmall hill: he was followed by ſir John Chandos, the

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two marſhals, and ſeveral other knights, who drew themſelves up in order of battle. After a ſhort time, the prince and don Pedro came thither, and, as they advanced, formed themſelves in like manner.

Don Tello and his brother were alſo very deſirous of gaining this eminence, it being a favorable poſition; but they were diſappointed in their wiſhes, as you have juſt heard. When, therefore, they ſaw that they could not attempt it, without great riſk, for the whole Engliſh army was in motion, they formed themſelves into a compact body, to return to their own army, and thus retreated, marching in handſome array, and hoping to have ſome fortunate adventure ere they got home. Before they had retired, ſeveral gallant actions were performed; for ſome of the Engliſh and Gaſcons had quitted their ranks, to tilt with theſe Spaniards, many of whom they had unhorſed; but the main body of the Engliſh army remained upon the mountain, expecting a general engagement.

When the Spaniards, in their retreat from the prince's army, were approaching their own, they met the detached party of the Engliſh under the command of ſir William Felton and his brother, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Richard Cauſton, the earl of Angus and many more, who might amount in the whole to two hundred knights and ſquires, as well Gaſcons as Engliſh. They immediately charged them in a wide valley, ſhouting out, 'Caſtille, for king Henry!'

The above-named knights, perceiving they had but little chance of ſucceſs againſt ſuch ſuperior

numbers as the Spaniards were, comforted themſelves the beſt they could, and, advancing into the plain, took poſſeſſion of a ſmall eminence, where they drew up in order of battle. The Spaniards marched towards them, and halted to conſider what would be the moſt advantageous manner of fighting them.

Sir William Felton that day performed a moſt brilliant action: deſcending the hill full gallop, with his lance in its reſt, he daſhed into the midſt of the Spaniards, when meeting a Spaniſh knight, he drove his ſpear with ſuch force, it paſſed through his armour, body and all, and threw him dead on the ground.

Sir William was ſurrounded on all ſides; but he fought as manfully as any knight could have done, and did them much miſchief before they were able to bring him down. His brother and the other knights were witneſſes, from the eminence, of his valour, and the gallant acts he was doing, as well as the peril he was in; but it was out of their power to aſſiſt him, without running every riſk themſelves. They remained, therefore, ſteadily upon the mountain in order of battle. The knight fought as long as his ſtrength laſted, but in the end was unfortunately ſlain.

The French and Spaniards, after this, began to attack the Engliſh, and to endeavour to take them that had drawn themſelves up on the hill. That day, many good actions were done. At one time, they made a general attack, and deſcended in a body upon their enemies; and then, wheeling ſuddenly

denly about, they wiſely regained their mountain, where they remained until high noon. Had the prince known their dangerous ſituation, he would have relieved them; but he was quite ignorant of it. They were therefore obliged to wait the iſſue of this buſineſs in the beſt way they could.

When the combat had been thus carried on, advancing and retreating, until the hour I have mentioned, don Tello, tired at their holding out ſo long, cried angrily aloud; 'My lords, ſhall we remain here all the day, with this handful of men? By St. Jago, we ought to have ſwallowed them up before this time. Forward! forward! let us attack them in a better and a more vigorous manner than before. One cannot gain any thing without taking ſome pains.'

Upon hearing this, the Spaniards and French advanced courageouſly, mounted the hill, with their ſpears preſented before them, in ſuch cloſe order and in ſuch numbers, that the Engliſh could neither break nor force through them. Many valorous deeds were done on this mountain; for the Engliſh and Gaſcons defended themſelves moſt valiantly, but, from the moment the Spaniards had gained the hill, they could not make any long reſiſtance. They were all taken or ſlain; and not one of the knights eſcaped: only a few boys ſaved themſelves by the fleetneſs of their horſes, who returned to the army of the prince, which had all that day continued drawn up in battle-array, in the expectation of an engagement.

CHAP. CCXXXVIII.

SIR ARNOLD D'ANDREGHEN GIVES GOOD ADVICE TO KING HENRY OF CASTILLE.—THE PRINCE OF WALES SENDS A TARDY ANSWER TO THE KING'S LETTER.

AFTER having conquered the before-named knights, don Tello and don Sancho returned with their detachment in great joy to their army, and went in the evening to the quarters of king Henry.

The two brothers who had been in this expedition made a preſent to the king of their priſoners, and related to him, in the preſence of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, ſir Arnold d'Andreghen and others, how the day had paſſed, and what road they had taken; how they had firſt fallen in with the people of ſir Hugh Calverley, whom they had ſlain or chaced even to the army of the Engliſh: that they had beaten up the quarters of the duke of Lancaſter, alarmed the whole army, and done much miſchief: that upon their retreat they had met thoſe knights, whom they had taken priſoners.

King Henry, who had liſtened to this account with great pride, replied moſt graciouſly to his brother, don Tello, and ſaid; 'Amiable brother, well have you performed your promiſe: I will reward you handſomely for it; and I feel, that all the reſt of our enemies muſt ultimately come to this paſs.'

Sir Arnold d'Andreghen, on this, ſtepped forth and ſaid; 'Sire, ſire, with your permiſſion, I wiſh not

not to doubt your majeſty's words, but to make an amendment by informing you, that when you ſhall meet the prince of Wales in battle, you will find men at arms ſuch as they ought to be; for with him is the flower of chivalry of the whole world, and hardy and tough combatants: thoſe who, in truth, would rather die on the ſpot than think of flying. It therefore behoves you to weigh maturely this point, before you determine; and, if you will believe what I am going to ſay, you may take them all, without ſtriking a ſtroke. You have only to guard the paſſes and defiles, ſo that no proviſion can be brought them, when famine will do the buſineſs for you: they muſt then return back to their own country in diſorder and ſpiritleſs, ſo that you may eaſily gain your object, and defeat them without ſtriking a blow.'

King Henry anſwered: 'By the ſoul of my father, marſhal, I have ſuch a deſire to ſee this prince, and to try my ſtrength with him, that we will never part without a battle. Thank God, I have enow of men to aſſiſt me. In the firſt place, there are already in our army ſeven thouſand men at arms, each mounted on a good courſer, and ſo well covered with armour that they fear not the arrows of the archer. In addition, I have twenty thouſand more, mounted on genets and armed from head to foot. I have beſides forty thouſand common ſoldiers, with lances, darts and ſhields, who will do much ſervice, for they have all ſworn they will rather die than leave me; ſo that, my lord marſhal, I ought not to be afraid, but rather place great con-

fidence in the power of God and of my men.' Thus ended this converſation: wine and ſpices were brought in by ſome knights, of which the king and the lords preſent partook; and then they all retired to their quarters.

The knights and ſquires who had that day been made priſoners, gave their oaths as ſuch, and were put under the care of different knights.

We will return to the prince, to ſpeak of his arrangements. He and the duke of Lancaſter had remained in the poſition they had taken in the morning, until about veſpers, when they were informed that their advanced detachment had been all taken or killed; at which they were much vexed, but they could not then amend it. They retired to their quarters, where they remained that night.

On the morrow morning, they called a council, and determined to leave their preſent poſition, to advance more into the country. They decamped, and took up their quarters nearer to Vittoria, marching full armed, as if immediately to engage; for they had heard that king Henry and his brothers, with their army, were not far diſtant: however they made no advances to meet them.

You muſt know, the prince and his brother were in great want of proviſion for themſelves and their horſes, as they had entered a very barren country, whilſt king Henry and his army enjoyed a quite contrary ſituation. A loaf of bread, and of no great ſize, was ſold in the prince's army for a florin; and many were very eager to pay this price whenever they were able to get it. The weather was

alſo extremely bad, with high wind, rain and ſnow; and in this miſerably diſtreſſing plight they remained for ſix days.

When the prince and his lords found the Spaniards make no advances to offer them battle, and that their diſtreſs was great where they were, they held a council, and reſolved to ſeek elſewhere for a paſſage over the Ebro. They therefore decamped, and took the road towards Navarete, through a country called la Guardia, which having paſſed, they came to a town called Viana. There the prince, the duke of Lancaſter, the earl of Armagnac and the other lords, halted two days, to refreſh themſelves. They then croſſed the river which divides Caſtille from Navarre, at the bridge of Logrono, in the midſt of gardens and olive trees. They found there a richer country than that which they had left; but even here they were much diſtreſſed for want of proviſion.

When king Henry was told that the prince and his army had croſſed the Ebro at the bridge of Logrono, he left St. Miguel, where he had kept his quarters for a long time, advanced to Najéra upon the ſame river, and there encamped. News was ſoon brought to the prince of king Henry's approach. This gave him great joy; and he ſaid aloud; 'By St. George, this baſtard proves himſelf a valiant knight, from the deſire he ſhews to meet us in battle. We ſhall certainly ſoon ſee each other; for we cannot fail doing ſo much longer.'

He then ſummoned his brother, the duke of Lancaſter, and ſome other barons of his council who

who were there, and wrote, with their advice, an anſwer to the letter which king Henry had ſent to him, in the following terms :

'EDWARD, by the grace of GOD, prince of Wales and of Acquitaine, to the renowned Henry earl of Traſtamare, who at this preſent time calls himſelf king of Caſtille.

'Whereas you have ſent to us a letter by your herald, in which, among other things, mention is made of your deſire to know why we have admitted to our friendſhip your enemy, our couſin the king don Pedro, and upon what pretext we are carrying on a war againſt you, and have entered Caſtille with a large army : in anſwer to this, we inform you, that it is to maintain juſtice and in ſupport of reaſon, as it behoveth all kings to do, and alſo to preſerve the firm alliances made by our lord the king of England, with the king don Pedro, in former times.

'But as you are much renowned among all good knights, we would wiſh, if it were poſſible to make up theſe differences between you both; and we would uſe ſuch earneſt entreaties with our couſin, the king don Pedro, that you ſhould have a large portion of the kingdom of Caſtille, but you muſt give up all pretenſions to the crown of that realm, as well as to its inheritance. Conſider well this propoſition ; and know further, that we ſhall enter the kingdom of Caſtille by whatever place ſhall be moſt agreeable to us.—Written at Logrono, the 30th day of March 1367.'

When this letter was finiſhed, folded up and ſealed,

ſealed, it was given to the herald who had brought king Henry's, and who had waited for an anſwer for three weeks. He took his leave of the prince and the other lords, and rode on until he came to Navarete, near to which place the king was encamped upon the heath. He made for the king's tent, followed by the principal lords of the army, who, having heard of the return of the herald, were anxious to know what news he had brought.

The herald, on his knees, preſented the king the letter which the prince had ſent by him. The king took and opened it, calling ſir Bertrand de Gueſclin, and ſome of the lords of his council, to its peruſal. When the letter had been read and well conſidered, ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin thus ſpoke to king Henry: 'Sire, be aſſured that very ſhortly you muſt have a battle: from what I know of the prince, I am convinced that it muſt be ſo. I therefore adviſe you to look well to this buſineſs, to order and arrange your men in the beſt poſſible manner.'

'Sir Bertrand,' replied king Henry, 'in God's name ſo it ſhall be. I have no dread of the prince's army: for I have three thouſand barbed horſes, which will be on our two wings, ſeven thouſand warders, and upwards of twenty thouſand men at arms, the beſt that can be found in all Caſtille, Galicia, Portugal, Cordova and Sicily, beſides ten thouſand croſs-bows, and full forty thouſand foot, armed with lances, darts, ſwords and all ſorts of weapons, who have ſworn to die rather than deſert me. I truſt therefore, ſir Bertrand, that through God's grace, in whom I put my truſt, we ſhall have

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the beſt of it, as well as from the juſtice of our right in this affair. I therefore entreat you all to be of good courage.'

Thus the king and ſir Bertrand converſed together, as well as on different ſubjects, laying aſide all thoughts of the letter which the prince had ſent, for king Henry was determined to have a battle. Don Tello and don Sancho began to draw up their men in proper order, and to buſy themſelves in preparing every thing: they were much eſteemed, for the ſucceſs of their late expedition. But we muſt now return to the prince, and ſhew how he was going on.

CHAP. CCXXXIX.

THE BATTLE OF NAVARETE, WHICH THE PRINCE OF WALES, SUPPORTING THE PART OF KING DON PEDRO AGAINST HIS BROTHER THE BASTARD, GAINS.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER, AND KING HENRY FORCED TO FLY, AFTER HAVING FOUGHT MOST VALIANTLY.

ON Friday the 2d of April, the prince decamped from Logrono, where he and all his army had halted. He marched in order of battle, as if an engagement were on the point of commencing; for he knew that king Henry was not far diſtant. After having marched about two leagues, he arrived before the town of Navarete, about nine o'clock, where he took up his quarters. As ſoon

as they had diſmounted, the prince ſent his ſcouts, to obſerve the countenance of the enemy and where they lay. Theſe ſcouts, being mounted on the beſt of horſes, left the army, and advanced until they ſaw the whole of the Spaniſh force encamped upon the heaths beyond Navarete: they inſtantly informed the prince of this, who was very glad to hear it. Towards evening, he gave out ſecret orders for the army to hold itſelf in readineſs at the firſt ſound of his trumpet; that at the ſecond ſound it ſhould arm, and on the third mount, and immediately follow the banners of the marſhals and the pennon of St. George; and that no one, under pain of death, ſhould break his rank, without being ordered ſo to do.

King Henry had done exactly as the prince of Wales, and had ſent out his ſcouts on this Friday evening, to learn the condition of the prince's army, what appearance they made, and where they were quartered. Thoſe ſent brought back true intelligence: upon hearing it, the king and ſir Bertrand held a conſultation on the ſubject.

They made their men ſup and go to bed very early, that they might be more freſh and hearty by midnight, when they were commanded to make themſelves ready, arm, and take the field in battle-array; for they well knew that a battle muſt enſue on the morrow. The Spaniards, therefore, made themſelves merry, for they had wherewithal largely to do ſo: but the Engliſh were in the greateſt want of proviſion; for which reaſon, they were anxious to fight.

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The trumpets of king Henry ſounded at midnight; on which, his whole army was on foot: at the ſecond blaſt, they left their tents, took the field, and formed in three battalions.

The firſt battalion was commanded by ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin and ſir Robert de Roquebertin, a viſcount of Arragon. Under him were all the foreigners, as well from France as from other countries: among whom were two barons from Hainault, the lord d'Antoing and ſir Alard lord de Briſueil. There were alſo in this diviſion the bègue de Villaines, the bègue de Villiers, ſir John de Bergettes, ſir Gauvain de Bailleul, l'Allemant de Saint Venant, who was there created a knight, with many other knights from Arragon, France, Provence and the neighbouring countries. There were in this battalion full four thouſand knights and ſquires, excellently armed, and drawn up according to the French manner.

Don Tello and his brother don Sancho commanded the ſecond diviſion. There were under them twenty-five thouſand lancemen, as well on horſe as on foot, who drew up a little behind the diviſion of ſir Bertrand, on his left hand.

The third, and largeſt battalion without compariſon, was commanded by king Henry himſelf. There were in it, and drawn up in array upwards of ſeven thouſand horſemen, and forty thouſand infantry among the croſs bowmen.

When they were thus formed, king Henry mounted a handſome and ſtrong mule, according to the cuſtom of his country, and rode through the ranks,

ranks, paying his compliments to the lords, graciouſly entreating them to exert themſelves this day in defending his honor, and pointing out to every one of them what they were to do with ſo much cheerfulneſs and good humour, that they were all in high ſpirits. After he had thus viſited his army, he returned to his own battalion. It was ſoon broad day. About ſun-riſe, they began their march towards Navarete in order of battle, to meet and to engage the enemy.

The prince of Wales, as it has been before related, drew up his army in the manner he intended they ſhould engage, whilſt he lay before Vittoria, when the enemy did not appear according to his expectations. He had not ſince then made any alterations concerning it, and had always marched in this order. At break of day, therefore, the prince's army took the field, marching in battle array, as expecting to meet the Spaniards. No one advanced before the battalion of the marſhals excepting thoſe who received orders, as ſcouts; and the two leaders, as well as both the armies, knew, from the intelligence of the ſcouts, that they ſhould ſhortly meet: they therefore marched forward with a gentle pace.

When the ſun was riſen, it was a beautiful ſight to view theſe battalions, with their brilliant armour glittering with its beams. In this manner, they nearly approached to each other. The prince, with a few attendants mounted a ſmall hill, and ſaw very clearly the enemy marching ſtraight towards them. Upon deſcending

deſcending this hill, he extended his line of battle in the plain, and then halted.

The Spaniards, ſeeing the Engliſh had halted, did the ſame, in order of battle: then each man tightened his armour, and made ready as for inſtant combat.

Sir John Chandos advanced in front of the battalions with his banner uncaſed in his hand. He preſented it to the prince, ſaying, 'My lord, here is my banner: I preſent it to you, that I may diſplay it in whatever manner ſhall be moſt agreeable to you; for, thanks to God, I have now ſufficient lands to enable me ſo to do, and maintain the rank which it ought to hold.'

The prince, don Pedro being preſent, took the banner in his hands, which was blazoned with a ſharp ſtake gules on a field argent: after having cut off the tail to make it ſquare, he diſplayed it, and, returning it to him by the handle, ſaid; 'Sir John, I return you your banner. God give you ſtrength and honor to preſerve it.'

Upon this, ſir John left the prince, went back to his men with the banner in his hand, and ſaid to them; 'Gentlemen, behold my banner and yours: you will therefore guard it as it becomes you.' His companions, taking the banner, replied with much cheerfulneſs, that 'if it pleaſed God and St. George, they would defend it well, and act worthily of it, to the utmoſt of their abilities.'

The banner was put into the hands of a worthy Engliſh ſquire, called William Alleſtry, who bore it with

with honor that day, and loyally acquitted himſelf in the ſervice. The Engliſh and Gaſcons ſoon after diſmounted on the heath, and aſſembled very orderly together, each lord under his banner or pennon, in the ſame battle array as when they paſſed the mountains.

It was delightful to ſee and examine theſe banners and pennons, with the noble army that was under them. The two armies began to move a little, and to approach nearer each other; but, before they met, the prince of Wales, with eyes and hands uplifted toward heaven, exclaimed; 'God of truth, the Father of Jesus Christ, who haſt made and faſhioned me, condeſcend, through thy benign grace, that the ſucceſs of the battle of this day may be for me and my army; for thou knoweſt, that in truth I have been ſolely emboldened to undertake it in the ſupport of juſtice and reaſon, to reinſtate this king upon his throne, who has been diſinherited and driven from it, as well as from his country.'

After theſe words, he extended his right arm, took hold of don Pedro's hand, who was by his ſide, and added, 'Sir king, you ſhall this day know whether you will have any thing in the kingdom of Caſtille or not.' He then cried out, 'Advance, banners, in the name of God and St. George!'

As he ſaid this, the duke of Lancaſter and ſir John Chandos came up to him. The duke ſaid to ſir William Beauchamp; 'William, there are our enemies: you ſhall ſee me this day act like a true knight, or die for it.' At theſe words, the two armies advanced. The firſt conflict was between the

battalion of the duke of Lancaſter and ſir John Chandos and that of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin and the marſhal d'Andreghen, who had under them four thouſand men at arms at leaſt.

At its commencement, there was a terrible medley of ſpears and ſhields. They were in this ſituation a conſiderable time before they could make any opening into each other. Many gallant deeds were performed, and many a knight unhorſed, who could not again raiſe himſelf.

When theſe two diviſions were thus engaged, the others were not willing to remain idle, but advanced to the combat with eagerneſs. The prince of Wales, accompanied by the king, don Pedro of Caſtille, and don Martin de la Carra, who repreſented the king of Navarre, charged the diviſion which was commanded by don Tello and don Sancho. But it ſeems that, as the prince and his battalion were on the point of engaging, a ſudden panic ſeized don Tello, ſo that he wheeled about, and fled in diſorder without ſtriking a blow, carrying with him two thouſand cavalry of his diviſion. No one knew how to account for this conduct. This ſecond diviſion was no ſooner broken than it was diſcomfited; for the captal de Buch and the lord de Cliſſon, quitting the battalion of the earl d'Armagnac with their men, fell upon them, and ſlew and wounded immenſe numbers.

The prince and don Pedro, upon this, advanced to the diviſion commanded by king Henry, in which there were at leaſt forty thouſand men, as well on foot as on horſeback. The fight now began in earneſt

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on all ſides; for the Spaniards and Caſtilians had ſlings, from which they threw ſtones with ſuch force as to break helmets and ſcull-caps, ſo that they wounded and unhorſed many of their opponents. The Engliſh archers, according to their cuſtom, ſhot ſharply with their bows, to the great annoyance and death of the Spaniards. On one ſide, there were ſhouts of, 'Caſtille, for king Henry!' on the other, 'St. George, for Guienne!'

During this time, the firſt battalion, commanded by the duke of Lancaſter, ſir John Chandos, and the two marſhals, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle and ſir Stephen Coſſington, was warmly engaged with that of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin and the other knights from Arragon and France. Many valorous actions were done; and each tried his ſtrength to open a paſſage through the enemy. Several fought with their ſpears in both hands, with which they dealt about luſtily their blows; others made uſe of ſhort ſwords and daggers. At the commencement the French and Arragonians made a deſperate reſiſtance, and gave the good knights of England much trouble.

Sir John Chandos ſhewed himſelf an able knight, and performed many gallant deeds under his banner: but, in his eagerneſs in fighting and driving his enemies before him, he was ſo far engaged as to be ſurrounded, and in the crowd unhorſed. A large man of Caſtille, called Martin Ferrand, who was much renowned for courage among the Spaniards, threw himſelf upon him with a determined reſolution to kill him, and kept him down in the

greateſt danger. Sir John, however, bethought himſelf of a knife he had in his boſom, which he drew, and ſtruck ſo well with it this Martin in the ſides and back that he gave him his death-blow as he was lying under him: he then turned him over, and roſe up as ſpeedily as he could: his people were now all ready about him, for they had with great difficulty broken through the crowd to come to the place where he had fallen.

It was on a Saturday, in the morning, between Najara and Navarete, that this ſevere and bloody battle was fought, in which multitudes of men were ſlain. In this engagement many were the brilliant actions performed by the prince of Wales, his brother the duke of Lancaſter, ſir John Chandos, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle, the captal de Buch, the lords de Cliſſon and de Raix, ſir Hugh Calverley, ſir Matthew Gournay, ſir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Pons and de Partenay.

On the other hand, among the Gaſcons, the lords d'Armagnac, d'Albret, de Pommiers and his two brothers, de Mucident, de Roſem, the earls de Perigord, de Commingcs, de Carmain, the lords de Condon, de l'Eſparre, de Chaumont, de Pincornet, Bartholomew de Cande, de Geronde, ſir Bernard d'Albret, ſir Aimery de Tarſe, the ſouldich de l'Eſtrade, ſir Petiton de Courton, with many other knights and ſquires, gave equal proofs of gallantry.

Under the pennon of St. George, and attached to the banner of ſir John Chandos, were the free companies, who had in the whole twelve hundred ſtreamers. Among them were good and hardy knights

knights and ſquires, whoſe courage was proof, namely, ſir Robert Cheney, ſir Perducas d'Albret, Robert Briquet, ſir Garſis du Chaſtel, ſir Gaillard Viguier, ſir John Charnels, Nandon de Bagerant, Aymemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Eſparre, le bourg de Bretueil, Eſpiote, and ſeveral others. I muſt therefore ſay, that ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, ſir Arnold d'Andreghen, don Sancho, don Gomez Garilz *, and the French and Arragonian knights who had engaged with this battalion, did not find themſelves the better for it, as theſe companies were compoſed of tried men, who had been long accuſtomed to arms.

There were beſides many other knights and ſquires from England, under the banners of the duke of Lancaſter and ſir John Chandos: among whom were ſir William Beauchamp ſon to the earl of Warwick, ſir Ralph Camois, ſir Walter Urſwick, ſir Thomas de Demery, ſir John Grandiſon, ſir John Draper, ſir John du Pré, ſir Aimery de Rochechouart, ſir Gaillard de la Motte, and upwards of two hundred other knights whom I am not able to name.

To ſay the truth, ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, the marſhal d'Andreghen, le bègue de Villaines, the lords d'Antoing and de Briſueil, ſir Gauvain de Bailleul, ſir John de Bergettes, le bègue de Villiers, l'Allemand de St. Venant, and the good knights

* Gomez Garilz. Gomez Carillo di Quintana.—*Dillon's Peter the Cruel.*

who were there from France, acquitted themſelves moſt valiantly: truly, had the Spaniards as well performed their parts, the Engliſh and Gaſcons would have ſuffered more than they did.

Thoſe who were near king Henry did their duty like men; for he had before entreated of them to behave courageouſly. He himſelf ſet the example, and performed ſuch valorous acts as gave courage to all around him. He advanced before thoſe who were beginning to give way and fly, calling to them; 'My lords, I am your king. You have placed me upon the throne of Caſtille, and have ſworn that you would die ſooner than forſake me. For the love of God preſerve your oaths ſacred which you have ſworn to me, and behave yourſelves handſomely in my cauſe. I will acquit myſelf towards you, for I will not fly one ſtep as long as I ſhall ſee you combating by my ſide.'

By theſe words, or others of a ſimilar tendency, did king Henry thrice bring back his men to the combat. He himſelf behaved ſo valiantly, that he ought to be much honoured and reſpected. This battle was fought with great perils: many were ſlain, wounded and put to flight.

The Spaniſh commonalty made uſe of ſlings, to which they were accuſtomed, and from which they threw large ſtones which at firſt much annoyed the Engliſh: but when their firſt caſt was over, and they felt the ſharpneſs of the Engliſh arrows, they kept no longer any order.

King Henry had in his battalion a large number of good men at arms, as well from Spain as from Liſbon,

Lisbon, Arragon and Portugal, who acquitted themselves exceedingly well, and did not give up so easily, but fought very courageously with lances, guisarmes *, pikes and swords. He had also upon his two wings bodies of lancemen, mounted on excellent coursers, who kept up the courage of his division; for when they saw any part of it likely to be broken, or willing to give way, they galloped up to them, and drove them back. The English and Gascons had not much advantage here, but what they gained from their experience and by dint of deeds of prowess and vigour. The prince had indeed with him the flower of chivalry, and there were under him the most renowned combatants in the whole world.

A little to the right of the battalion of the prince was the king of Majorca and his company, who fought vigorously, and exerted themselves to the best of their power. On the other hand was don Martin de la Carra, who represented the king of Navarre, and did his duty well.

I cannot particularise all that were deserving of notice; but the prince had in his division many well famed knights from England and Gascony, namely, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Thomas Despencer, sir Thomas Holland, sir Nêle Loring, sir Hugh and sir Philip Courtenay, sir John Combes,

* Guisarmes,—'a kind of (offensive) long handled and long headed weapon, or (as the Spanish *visarma*) a staff that hath within it two long pikes, which with a shoot, or thrust forward, came forth.'—Cotgrave's *Dictionary*.

ſir Nicholas Bond, ſir Thomas Combes, and ſeveral others, ſuch as the ſénéſchal of Saintonge, ſir Baldwin de Franville, the high ſtewards of Bourdeaux, of la Rochelle, of Poitou, of Angoulême, of Rouergue, of Limouſin, of Perigord, ſir Louis de Marnel, ſir Raymond d'Ondueil and many more. All theſe you muſt know, fought in earneſt, as indeed they had need to do; for the Spaniards and Caſtillians were near one hundred thouſand men in arms, ſo that their great numbers kept up their courage: there could not but be among them many who fought well and did their utmoſt.

The king don Pedro was much heated, and very anxious to meet his brother the baſtard: he galloped about, calling out, 'Where is this ſon of a whore who calls himſelf king of Caſtille?'

King Henry was engaged in another part of the field, where he fought manfully, and kept up the courage of his men as well as he could by his ſpeeches to them: he ſaid, 'My good people, you have made me your king, and have crowned me: help me to defend the inheritance which you have given to me.' By ſuch words as theſe, which he every now and then addreſſed to them, many were ſo bold and valorous that for their honor they fell on the ſpot, diſdaining to fly.

The diviſion on the ſide of the Spaniards which behaved the beſt, and was alſo the beſt fought with, was that commanded by ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin; for there were on both ſides true men at arms, who exerted themſelves to the utmoſt of their abilities. Many gallant deeds were performed by them.

them. Sir John Chandos diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly. He governed, that day, the duke of Lancaſter, in the ſame manner he had done the prince of Wales at the battle of Poitiers; for which he was exceedingly praiſed and honored, as was indeed but juſt: when ſuch a valiant and good knight thus acquits himſelf toward his lords, he is worthy of honor and reſpect. Sir John therefore, during the day, never thought of making any priſoners with his own hand, but was ſolely occupied in fighting and puſhing forward.

However, many good knights and ſquires from Arragon, France and Brittany, were made priſoners by his people, and under his banner: particularly ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, ſir Arnold d'Andreghen, the bègue de Villaines, with upwards of ſixty knights; conſequently the battalion of ſir Bertrand was diſcomfited. All thoſe who had come thither from France and Arragon were either ſlain or taken.

Among the ſlain was the bègue de Villiers. The lord d'Antoing in Hainault, the lord de Breſueil, ſir Gauvain de Bailleul, ſir John de Bergettes, ſir l'Allemand de St. Venant, with many others, were made priſoners.

Upon this, the banners and pennons, that is to ſay, the banner of the duke of Lancaſter, the banner of ſir John Chandos, the banner of the two marſhals, and the pennon of St. George and others, returned toward the diviſion which was commanded by king Henry, ſhouting out, 'St. George, for Guienne!' Upon this, the Spaniards and thoſe who ſup-

ſupported them were repulſed. On one ſide, was ſeen the captal de Buch and the lord de Cliſſon manfully engaged: on another, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, ſir Hugh Calverley, the ſouldich de l'Eſtrade and ſir John Devereux ſhewed themſelves good knights.

The prince ſhone pre-eminently: he proved his noble birth, and the gallantry of his knighthood, by his eagerneſs to ſeek his enemies, and bravely fighting with them.

On the other hand, king Henry acquitted himſelf right valiantly in every ſituation; he more than once rallied his men to the combat; for when they ſaw don Tello take flight, accompanied by two thouſand men, they began to be caſt down, and the greater part of them were ſo much frightened, that they were willing to follow his example; but king Henry galloping up to the foremoſt, ſaid; 'My good lords, what are you doing? why would you thus ſeek to abandon and betray me? you who have choſen me for your king, and placed the crown of Caſtille upon my head, giving me the inheritance of it? Return back, and help me to guard, defend and maintain it: remain ſteady near to me, for, through God's grace the day ſhall ſtill be ours.' By ſuch ſpeeches as theſe, he encouraged many, and cauſed them to fight boldly: they could not for ſhame fly, when they ſaw their king and lord act himſelf ſo vigorouſly in the combat, and addreſs ſuch friendly words to them. More than fifteen hundred perſons loſt their lives by this management, who would otherwiſe have been ſaved by taking advantage

tage of a favorable opportunity, if it had not been for their love of the king.

After the defeat of the battalion of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin and the marſhal d'Andreghen, when all the diviſions of the prince were formed into one large body, the Spaniards could no longer keep their ground, but began to fly in great diſorder, much frightened, towards the town of Najara *, and to croſs the river which runs by it: in ſpite of every thing king Henry could ſay, they would not rally nor return to the fight.

When king Henry perceived that his army was totally defeated, without hopes of recovery, he called for his horſe, mounted it, and galloped among the crowd of runaways, but was careful not to take the road either to Najara or to the river: for he wiſhed not to be ſurrounded: he followed another road, to avoid every danger; in which he acted wiſely, as he was fully aware, that if he ſhould be made priſoner, he would be ſlain without mercy.

The Engliſh and Gaſcons now mounted their horſes, and went in purſuit of the Spaniards, who were flying in diſmay, as far as Najara. There was much ſlaughter and effuſion of blood at the entrance

* D. Sauvage will have it Navarete; but I think it muſt be Najara, for they would never run away towards Navarete, but on the contrary towards their own homes. The battle was fought between Najara and Navarete. A river runs by Najara, none by Navarete. The Ebro is not far diſtant; but, if they had croſſed that river, there would have been mention made of Logrono: and beſides, they would then have been in an enemy's country.

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of the bridge: many were killed and drowned: for great numbers leaped into the river, which was both ra id and deep, preferring the being drowned to being murdered.

In this flight, there were two valiant men of Spain, knights at arms, who wore, however, the dre of monks: one was called the grand prior of St. Jago, the other the grand maſter of the orde o Calatrava: they and their attendants threw themſelves for ſafety into the town of Najara, but were ſo cloſely purſued by the Engliſh and Gaſcons, who were at their heels, that they won the bridge with great ſlaughter, and entered the town with them. They took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong houſe which was well built with worked ſtone: but this was ſoon gained, the knights taken, many of their people killed, and the whole town pillaged. The Engliſh and Gaſcons gained conſiderable riches: they went to the lodgings of king Henry and the other Spaniſh lords where the firſt comers found quantities of plate and jewels; for king Henry and his army had come thither with much ſplendor, and after the defeat had not leiſure to return to place in ſecurity what they had left behind them in the morning.

The defeat was very complete and dreadful, eſpecially upon the banks of this river, where numbers were ſlain. Some ſaid, as I have heard from thoſe who were there, that the river below Najara was tinged with the blood of men and horſes there killed. This battle was fought between Najara and Navarete, in Spain, on Saturday the 3d day of April, in the year of our Lord 1367.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCXL.

ALL CASTILLE, AFTER THE BATTLE OF NAVARETE, ACKNOWLEDGE DON PEDRO.—HE PROTRACTS THE STAY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT VALLADOLID, WHILST HE SEEKS FOR MONEY TO PAY THE ARMY.

AFTER this defeat at the battle of Navarete, which was completed before noon, the prince of Wales ordered his banner to be fixed in a buſh, on a ſmall eminence, as a rallying point for his men, on their return from the purſuit of the enemy. The duke of Lancaſter, ſir John Chandos, the lord de Cliffon, the captal de Buch, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret and the other barons came thither: their banners were diſplayed to aſſemble their men, who formed themſelves under them as they returned.

The lord James, king of Majorca, was there, with his banner before him: his men collected themſelves under it. A little higher, was don Martin de la Carra, with the banner of his lord, the king of Navarre. In ſimilar order, were all the other earls and barons drawn up; ſo that it was a beautiful ſight to look on and contemplate.

The king, don Pedro, came thither in a great heat from the purſuit, mounted upon a black courſer, with his banner, emblazoned with the arms of Caſtille, borne before him: he diſmounted as ſoon as he perceived the banner of the prince, and advanced towards it. When the prince ſaw him coming, he haſtened, out of reſpect, to meet him. Don Pedro would have caſt himſelf on his knees, to return

return thanks to the prince, but he would not ſuffer it, and took him by the hand: upon which, don Pedro ſaid; 'Dear and fair couſin, I owe you many thanks and praiſes for the happy event of this day, which I have gained through your means.' The prince replied; 'Sir, render your thanks to God; for to him alone belongs the praiſe: the victory comes from him, and not from me.'

The lords of the council of the prince were now aſſembled, and converſed on different matters. The prince remained there ſo long that all his men were returned from the purſuit, when he ordered four knights, with as many heralds, to ſearch the field of battle, and ſee what men of rank had been killed; and alſo to know for truth what was become of king Henry, called the Baſtard, if he were among the dead or not, for at that time they knew nothing certain about him. After having given theſe orders, the prince and his barons deſcended towards the quarters of king Henry and the Spaniards. The army, according to orders, ſpread itſelf abroad among the tents of the enemy, where they found plenty of every ſort of proviſion, from the want of which they had ſo lately ſuffered. They made themſelves very comfortable, and ſupped with great joy. After ſupper, the knights and heralds who had been ſent to examine the field of battle, returned, and reported from the account they had taken, that only five hundred and ſixty men at arms lay dead; that they had not found the body of king Henry, which was diſpleaſing information to don Pedro. Among the dead, they had only found four

knights

knights of their party; two of whom were Gaſcons, one a German, and the other an Engliſhman. But of the commonalty they ſaid there were about ſeven thouſand five hundred dead, without counting thoſe drowned, the numbers of whom they were ignorant of; and of their own party about forty common men.

They repoſed themſelves this Saturday night at their eaſe: they were well enabled to do ſo, from the great plenty of proviſion and wine which they had met with. They remained there the whole of the enſuing day, which was Palm-Sunday, to refreſh themſelves.

On that morning, about ſix o'clock, when the prince was riſen and dreſſed, he came forth from his tent, and the duke of Lancaſter, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, ſir John Chandos, the captal de Buch, the lord de Pommiers, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle, the king of Majorca, with a great number of knights and ſquires advanced to pay their reſpects to him. Soon afterward, the king don Pedro came thither, to whom the prince paid every reſpect and honor. Don Pedro, having ſaluted him, ſaid; 'Dear lord and fair couſin, I entreat and beſeech you, as a mark of your friendſhip, that you will have the kindneſs to deliver up to me the traitors of my country, eſpecially my brother Sancho the baſtard, and the others, that I may cut off their heads; for they have done me much injury.'

The prince of Wales, after having conſidered for a moment the requeſt which don Pedro had juſt made

made him, anſwered; 'Sir king, I have alſo a requeſt to make you; and I beg of you, in the name of our friendſhip and connection, that you will not deny it to me.' Don Pedro, who could refuſe him nothing, moſt cheerfully aſſented, ſaying; 'My lord and fair couſin, whatever I have is yours.' Upon which, the prince replied; 'Sir king, I entreat and beg of you to pardon all the ill which your rebellious ſubjects have done againſt you. You will do an act of kindneſs and generoſity, and will by this means remain in peace in your kingdom. But I except from this amneſty Gomez Garilz; for I am willing that you ſhould do with him as beſt pleaſes you.'

The king don Pedro granted this favor, though much againſt his inclination: he dared not refuſe it, feeling himſelf under ſo many obligations: he therefore anſwered, 'Fair couſin, I willingly grant your requeſt.'

All the Spaniſh priſoners who were in the army of the prince were ſent for, and he gave them up to the king don Pedro, their lord. The king kiſſed the earl don Sancho, his brother, and forgave him all his miſdeeds towards him, as well as all the others, on condition they would ſwear fealty, homage and ſervice, and would become his vaſſals, and acknowledge him for their lord.

This courteſy and much more did the prince to don Pedro, who but very little remembered them, as you will ſee in the continuation of this hiſtory. He made alſo very liberal preſents to the barons of Spain who had been his priſoners. If the king could have had them given up to him, in his rage, he would

would infallibly have put them all to death. Gomez Garilz was delivered up to him; for whom he would not hear of any ranſom, ſo much did he hate him, but had him beheaded before his eyes, on the outſide of the tent.

After this, don Pedro mounted on horſeback, attended by his brother don Sancho, and all thoſe who were again become his ſubjects, with the two marſhals of the prince, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle and ſir Stephen Coſſington, and upwards of five hundred men at arms: they ſet out from the army of the prince, and rode towards Burgos, where they arrived on the Monday morning.

The inhabitants of Burgos, who had been informed of the defeat of king Henry, had neither the will nor inclination to ſhut themſelves up in the town, to hold out againſt their prince. The richeſt and principal perſons of the city went out of the gates, to preſent the keys to don Pedro, whom, after acknowledging for their lord, they conducted with all his company, in great pomp and ſolemnity, into the city of Burgos.

The prince remained all Sunday, in his newly acquired quarters. On the Monday, after veſpers, he and his army decamped, and marched to Villorado, where he halted until the Wedneſday following, when he marched to Burgos. The prince entered the town in great parade. With him were the duke of Lancaſter, the earl of Armagnac, and others of the principal lords. The army encamped in the plains without the town, in which there was not room to quarter them comfortably.

The prince viſited his army every day during its encampment on the plain; for his tent was there pitched, and he gave judgment concerning arms and all things thereunto belonging: he there kept the field and wager of battle; ſo that one may truly ſay, all Spain was for ſome days under his command.

The prince of Wales and the king don Pedro celebrated the feſtival of Eaſter in the city of Burgos, where they tarried upwards of three weeks. On Eaſter-day, the deputies from Aſturias, Toledo, Léon, Cordova, Gallicia, Seville, and from all the other provinces and towns dependent on the crown of Caſtille, came to Burgos, to do homage to don Pedro. That loyal knight of Caſtille, don Ferdinand de Caſtro, came alſo thither to pay his reſpects, whom they handſomely entertained, and were very happy in ſeeing.

When the king don Pedro had reſided in Burgos rather more than the time I have mentioned, and had learnt from exact information that the rebellion was at an end, all having returned to their allegiance, the prince of Wales, in order to ſatisfy his army, and to act conformably to what was becoming him, ſaid to the king; 'Sir king, you are now, thanks to God, king and lord over your country: all rebellion and oppoſition to you are at an end: we therefore remain here at ſuch very great expenſe that I muſt deſire you will provide yourſelf with money ſufficient to pay thoſe who have replaced you in your kingdom, and that you now fulfil all the articles of the treaties which you have ſworn and

ſealed

ſealed to perform. We ſhall feel ourſelves obliged by your ſo doing, and as ſpeedily as it may be poſſible, which will be the more profitable to you; for you know that men at arms will live, and, if they be not paid, will help themſelves.

The king don Pedro replied as follows: 'Sir couſin, we will punctually perform, as far as ſhall be in our loyal power, whatever we have promiſed and ſworn to: but at this moment we have no money: we will therefore ſet out for Seville and its environs, and will there collect a ſufficiency to ſatisfy every one. If you will march to Valladolid, which is a fertile country, we will return to you as ſoon as it ſhall be in our power, but at the lateſt by Whitſuntide.'

This anſwer was agreeable to the prince and his council. The king don Pedro left the prince abruptly, and went to Seville, with the intention of procuring money. The prince marched to Valladolid, where he fixed his quarters. The army was ſpread over the country about that town, in order to find proviſion for themſelves and horſes; they continued there with little profit to the peaſants, for the companies could not refrain from pillaging.

News was immediately carried through France, England, Germany and other countries, that the prince of Wales had defeated king Henry (who was himſelf either taken, drowned or ſlain) with upwards of a hundred thouſand men, in a regular battle. The prince was therefore the more honored and renowned for it wherever true knighthood and deeds of enterpriſe were eſteemed, particularly in the em-

pire of Germany and in England. The Germans, Flemings and Engliſh declared the prince of Wales was the mirror of knighthood, and that ſuch a prince was worthy of governing the whole world, who, by perſonal proweſs, had gained three glorious victories: the firſt at Crecy in Ponthieu, the ſecond at Poitiers ten years afterwards, and the third in Spain at Najara.

The citizens of London made ſolemn ſhows, triumphs and feaſts, for this victory; ſuch as were formerly done in honor of their kings who had taken a town or defeated their enemies.

But in France, there was much lamentation for the knights of that kingdom, who had been either ſlain or made priſoners; more eſpecially for ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, ſir Arnold d'Andreghen and ſeveral others, who, however, were courteouſly treated, and ſome immediately ſet at liberty on their ranſom. Sir Bertrand had not his freedom ſo ſoon; for ſir John Chandos, whoſe priſoner he was, being unwilling to conſent to it, ſir Bertrand was not over preſſing on the ſubject.

We will now ſpeak a little of king Henry, what became of him after his flight from the battle, and then return to the prince of Wales and king don Pedro of Caſtille.

CHAP. CCXLI.

KING HENRY OF CASTILLE, HAVING ESCAPED FROM THE BATTLE OF NAJARA, MAKES WAR UPON ACQUITAINE.—THE PRINCE OF WALES LEAVES SPAIN, DISCONTENTED WITH THE KING DON PEDRO.

KING Henry, as has been before related, eſcaped the beſt way he could, and, leaving his enemies behind him, conducted his wife and children as quickly as he was able to the city of Valencia, where the king of Arragon reſided, who was his godfather and friend: to him he related the ill ſucceſs of the battle. Upon conſidering the ſtate of his affairs, he determined to make a longer journey, and viſit the duke of Anjou, who was then at Montpellier, to tell him his misfortunes.

The king of Arragon approved of this plan, and conſented to his leaving him, becauſe the duke was an enemy to the prince of Wales, who was his too near neighbour.

King Henry then departed from the king of Arragon, leaving his wife and children in the city of Valencia. Purſuing his journey, he paſſed through Narbonne, which is the firſt city of the realm of France on that ſide; then through Beziers, and that country, until he arrived at Montpellier, where he found the duke of Anjou, who loved him much, and as cordially hated the Engliſh, though he was not at war with them.

The duke, who had before heard of his ill fortune, received king Henry in the handſomeſt manner, and comforted him by every means in his power. He remained with him ſome time, and then ſet out for Avignon, to viſit pope Urban V. who was about to depart for Rome, which he ſhortly afterwards did. King Henry then returned to Montpellier, to the duke of Anjou, when ſome treaties were entered into between them. It was related to me, by thoſe who at the time thought themſelves well informed of what was going on, (and there is every appearance from enſuing circumſtances that it was true,) that king Henry bought or borrowed of duke of Anjou, a caſtle ſituated near Toulouſe, upon the borders of the principality; which caſtle was called Roquemaure *.

He

* Roquemaure. From all the ſearches I have made, Froiſſart ſeems to have been miſinformed as to the caſtle king Henry retired to from Montpellier.

'Henry and the duke of Anjou went together to Avignon. On their return, they entered into a treaty, as well againſt don Pedro as the Engliſh: but this was kept ſecret. Henry then retired to his comté de Ceſſénon, in the dioceſe of S. Pons and of Beziers.

Being diſtreſſed for money, he ſold this county, with the caſtles of Ceſſénon, of Servian, Théſan, &c. to the king of France, for the ſum of 27,000 gold francs.

'Henry gave a receipt for this ſum, 27th July, and then went with his family to reſide at the caſtle of Pierre Pertuſe, where he had reſted on coming from Spain.'

Hiſt. de Languedoc.

This

He there aſſembled ſome of the free companies, ſuch as Bretons and others, who had not followed the prince into Spain: they amounted, at this commencement, to three hundred.

News was immediately diſpatched to the princeſs of Wales, who had remained at Bourdeaux, that king Henry was ſeeking for aſſiſtance, and making preparations on all ſides, to wage war upon the principality and the duchy of Guienne. She was much aſtoniſhed on hearing it; but, ſince he was upon the territories belonging to the crown of France, ſhe ſent ſpecial ambaſſadors to the king of France, to entreat that he would not ſuffer the baſtard of Spain to make war upon her, nor to have any ſupport from France to carry ſuch deſigns into effect, for too ſerious evils would ariſe from it.

The king of France immediately aſſented to the requeſt of the princeſs: he ſent meſſengers in haſte to the baſtard Henry (who ſtill remained in the caſtle of Roquemaure, near to Montauban, and who had already begun to make war upon Acquitaine and the territories of the prince), commanding

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This caſtle of Pierre Pertuſe I believe to be the caſtle which Froiſſart calls Roquemaure. It was demoliſhed by Louis XIV. after the peace of Nimeguen, who built the caſtle of Bellegarde on its ruins. It is a very ſtrong ſituation, commanding the Col de Pertus. Rouſſillon at that time was attached to the crown of Arragon.

There is a town called Roquemaure in Upper Languedoc, near to and in the dioceſe of Montauban, ſo that Froiſſart may be right, notwithſtanding what the hiſtorian of Languedoc ſays, which I have juſt quoted.

him, as he was a reſident in his kingdom, not to wage war on the principality of his dear nephew the prince of Wales and of Acquitaine. To give greater weight to theſe orders, and as an example for his ſubjects not to form any alliance with the baſtard Henry, he ſent the young earl of Auxerre to priſon in the caſtle of the Louvre in Paris, becauſe he had entered into treaties with king Henry, and as it was ſaid, was to join him with a large body of men at arms: the king of France made him give up this expedition, and diſſolve the connection.

King Henry paid obedience to the orders of the king of France, as it was natural he ſhould: but for all this he did not think the leſs of his attempt. He departed from the caſtle of Roquemaure, with about four hundred Bretons, having for his allies the following knights and ſquires: ſir Arnold de Limouſin, ſir Geoffry Ricons, ſir Pons de Laconet, Silveſter Budes, Aliot de Calais* and Alain de St. Pol. Theſe men at arms, Bretons as well as others, advanced into the territories of the prince, and galloping boldly through the mountains, entered the principality by Bigorre, and took by eſcalade a town called Bagnieres †.

They repaired and fortified it very ſtrongly; whence they made irruptions on the territories of the prince, to which they did much miſchief. But the princeſs ſent after them ſir James Audley, who had remained in Acquitaine, as governor to guard

* Barnes calls him Eliot du Carhais.

† Bagnieres,—a town of Bigorre, dioceſe of Tarbes.

the country. Notwithſtanding this, king Henry and the Bretons did a great deal of damage; for his army was continually increaſing.

We will now return to the prince of Wales and his army, who had been encamped at Valladolid and its environs, waiting for the return of don Pedro.

The prince had continued at Valladolid until after the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt, expecting don Pedro, who did not return, nor could he learn any certain tidings of him. He became very melancholy, and aſſembled his council, that they might deliberate what was beſt to be done. The council adviſed the prince to ſend two or three knights to remonſtrate with the king on his ſituation, and to demand the reaſon why he did not keep to the agreement he had made, nor return the day he had himſelf appointed.

Sir Nêle Loring, ſir Richard Pontchardon and ſir Thomas Banaſter were ordered to make themſelves ready to wait on don Pedro. Theſe knights of the prince ſet out immediately, and rode on until they came to the city of Seville, where don Pedro was, who in outward appearance, received them with great joy.

The knights delivered their meſſage punctually and literally, as they had been ordered by the prince. The king don Pedro replied, and by way of excuſing himſelf, ſaid; 'It is, my lords, very diſpleaſing moſt certainly to us, that we have not been able to perform what we had covenanted to do with our couſin the prince. We have remonſtrated ourſelves, and made others do ſo with our ſub-

ſubjects, frequently on this buſineſs; but our people excuſe themſelves, and ſay they cannot collect any money as long as the free companies remain in the country; for they have already killed three or four of our treaſurers, who were carrying ſums of money towards the prince our couſin. You will therefore tell him from us, that we entreat he will have the goodneſs to ſend out of our kingdom theſe wicked companies, and that he will leave with us ſome of his knights, to whom, in his name, we will pay ſuch ſums of money as he demands, and which we hold ourſelves obliged and bound to pay him.'

This was all the anſwer the knights could obtain. They took leave of don Pedro, and returned to the prince at Valladolid; to whom, and to his council, they related all they had ſeen or heard. This anſwer made the prince more melancholy than before, becauſe he clearly found that, though the king don Pedro entered into agreements, he put off the fulfilling of them.

During the ſtay the prince made at Valladolid, which was upwards of four of the hotteſt months, the king of Majorca was confined to his bed, through ſickneſs; at which the prince and the other lords were very much concerned.

At this place, ſir Arnold d'Andreghen, and le bègue de Villaines, with ſeveral knights of France and Brittany, who had been made priſoners, were ranſomed, or exchanged, for ſir Thomas Felton, ſir Richard Cauſton, ſir Hugh Haſtings and others. But ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin remained ſtill in the power of the prince, for he was not ranſomed ſo

ſoon.

ſoon. The Engliſh and the council of the prince thought, that if he obtained his liberty, he would immediately join the baſtard Henry, and carry on the war with freſh vigour. The prince had heard that Henry had entered Bigorre, had taken Bagnieres, and was waſting his principality: on which account, he was not in any haſte to grant ſir Bertrand his liberty.

When the prince of Wales had conſidered the anſwer of don Pedro, he was more diſturbed than ever, and ordered his council to give him their opinions on it. His people, who were anxious to return, (for the air and heat of Spain had been very hurtful to their health; even the prince himſelf was unwell, and in low ſpirits;) recommended a retreat, and declared that don Pedro had ſhamefully and diſhonourably failed in his engagements.

Orders were immediately given for the return of the army. When they were on the eve of their departure, the prince ſent ſir Hugh Courtenay and ſir John Chandos to inform the king of Majorca of the reaſons why he was about to quit Spain; and that he ſhould be very much concerned to leave him behind, in caſe he wiſhed to return. The king of Majorca replied to the knights; 'I give my lord the prince, our brother ſoldier, my beſt thanks; but for the preſent I cannot ride, nor, until God pleaſe, can I raiſe my foot to the ſtirrup.' The knights anſwered, by inquiring if he wiſhed the prince ſhould leave behind ſome men at arms, as a guard for him, and to conduct him when he ſhould be in a ſituation to mount on horſeback?

The king ſaid, 'By no means, for it is uncertain how long I may be forced to remain here.'

Upon this, the knights took leave of the king, and returned to the prince; to whom they related what had paſſed, with the anſwers of the king of Majorca. He replied, 'Be it ſo then.' The prince and his whole army now began their march towards a good city called Madrigay *, where he ſtaid a ſhort time. He then advanced to a valley called de Foirie †, upon the borders of Spain, Arragon and Navarre, where he and his army remained upwards of a month: for ſome of the paſſes on the borders of Arragon were ſhut againſt him; and it was reported in the army, that the king of Navarre (who had lately come out of priſon) had compromiſed his quarrel with the baſtard of Spain and the king of Arragon, and had engaged to cut off the retreat of the prince through his dominions. However, as it appeared afterwards, there was no truth in this report: nevertheleſs, it was ſuſpected, becauſe he was in his kingdom, and had not waited on the prince.

While the prince remained in this ſituation, he ſent negotiators to an appointed place between Spain and Arragon, where they met others from the king of Arragon, with whom they had long conferences for ſeveral days: at laſt, it was finally agreed, that the king of Arragon ſhould open his country for the peaceable return of the prince and

* Madrigay. Agreda.—*Collins' Hiſt. of the Black Prince.*

† Foirie. Vale of Sona, between Arragon and Spain.—Collins.

his

his army: through which they were to paſs, without doing any violence or moleſtation, and paying courteouſly for whatever they ſhould want.

The king of Navarre, when he found that a treaty had been entered into with the king of Arragon, came to meet the prince, attended by don Martin de la Carra. He paid him every reſpect and honor, handſomely offering a paſſage through his dominions, for himſelf, his brother the duke of Lancaſter, as well as for ſeveral barons and knights of England and of Gaſcony; but he was anxious that the free companies ſhould take any other road than through Navarre,

The prince and the lords, who knew that their march would be much ſhortened by going through Navarre, were not willing to renounce ſuch a favor: they therefore greatly thanked the king for his offer: and the prince managed him ſo well that he obtained the ſame permiſſion for the companies as for the reſt of his army, aſſuring the king, upon his word and oath, that they ſhould paſs ſo peaceably, and pay ſo well for what they might want, that he would be ſatisfied with them.

The prince therefore, and his men at arms, quitted the kingdom of Caſtille, on their return, marching as quietly as they could through Navarre. The prince was attended by the king of Navarre and don Martin de la Carra, as far as Roncevaux; whence he continued his march to Bayonne, where he was received with great joy. He remained there four days, to repoſe and recruit himſelf. When he approached Bourdeaux, he was received

received with great ſolemnity: the princeſs of Wales came out to meet him, accompanied with her eldeſt ſon, Edward, who was then about three years old.

He there diſbanded his army: the men at arms departed different ways: the lords, barons, and knights of Gaſcony, to their caſtles; the knights of England to their governments, or high ſteward-ſhips; and the free companies, as they returned, remained in the principality, waiting for payment. The prince, who thought himſelf much obliged to them, was deſirous of ſatisfying them as far as was in his power, and as ſoon as money could be raiſed. He ſaid, that 'although don Pedro had not kept his engagements, it was not becoming him to act in like manner to thoſe who had ſo well ſerved him.'

CHAP. CCXLII.

AFTER THE RETURN OF THE PRINCE TO ACQUITAINE, HENRY KING OF CASTILLE LEAVES BAGNIERS IN BIGORRE, AND RETIRES TO THE KINGDOM OF ARRAGON.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN OBTAINS HIS RANSOM.—THE FREE COMPANIES OF THE PRINCE ENTER THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE.—SOME OF THE GREAT BARONS OF ACQUITAINE COMPLAIN TO KING CHARLES OF FRANCE OF A CERTAIN TAX, CALLED FOUAGE*, WHICH THE PRINCE WAS ABOUT TO LAY ON THEIR LANDS.

AS ſoon as king Henry who had remained in the garriſon of Bagniers for a conſiderable time, heard of the prince's return from Spain into the principality, he ſet out, accompanied by all his men at

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* Fouage,—'a yearly tax levied in old time, by ſupreme lords, upon every chimney or houſe fire kept within their dominions. In Charles V's time, it was four livres tournois. Since that time, in moſt places the tailles have been introduced in lieu thereof.

'The tailles were originally only allowed in four caſes; nouvelle chivalerie, marriage des filles, voyage d'outre mer, et captivité.

'Charles VII. made them ordinary. All gentlemen, or ſuch of a gentlemanly profeſſion, are exempted from them.'—COTGRAVE's *Dictionary—Fouage—Taille.*

'The taille was levied on goods, moveable and immoveable. It amounted to the tenth part of the revenues. A falſe declaration occaſioned the confiſcation of the overplus. (Beaumanoir, chap. L.) When the kings impoſed the taille on

at arms, Bretons and companions towards the king of Arragon, who had much affection for him, and who received him with great joy. He paſſed there the whole winter: when new treaties were entered into between them, to carry on the war againſt don Pedro. The Bretons, who were his adherents, had already made incurſions into Spain, in the name of king Henry: they were commanded by ſir Arnold de Limouſin, ſir Geoffry Ricons and ſir Pons de Lakonet.

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on the ſubjects of their domain, thoſe barons who were bound to ſerve them in their wars laid it on their vaſſals. According to a regulation of St. Louis, the pariſhes elected thirty or forty men, who from among themſelves choſe twelve that were appointed to apportion this tax; and they ſwore on the Goſpels, neither to favor nor injure any one through love or hatred. Theſe twelve men elected in their turn four who were appointed to raiſe this tax.

'The Aide was a tax which the principal barons levied in money from their vaſſals. There were two ſorts of aides,—'l'aide legitime,' which was rigorouſly exacted in certain inſtances, ſuch as the ranſom of the lord, the marriage of the eldeſt daughter, the knighthood of the ſon, the acceſſion of the preſumptive heir to the eſtate. From this aide, the clergy were not exempted.

'The other was called 'l'aide gracieux.' It was demanded as a gift in certain caſes, and depended on the will of the inferior. It was granted when the lord went croiſading to Paleſtine,—when he himſelf, or his brother, was armed knight,—when he married his ſiſter or younger children,—when he built or repaired any caſtle,—when he was at war for the defence of his lands. This voluntary tax was not long before it became a forced one.'

Introduction to M. Leveſque's Hiſt. of France under the firſt five Valois, vol. i. pp. 325, &c.

We

We will now relate how ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin obtained his liberty. After the prince was returned to Acquitaine, his brother the duke of Lancaſter to England, and all the other barons to their different homes, ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin remained priſoner to the prince and to ſir John Chandos; for he could not by any means obtain his ranſom; which was highly diſpleaſing to king Henry, but he could not remedy it.

Now it happened (as I have been informed) that one day, when the prince was in great good humour, he called ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, and aſked him how he was. 'My lord,' replied ſir Bertrand, 'I was never better: I cannot otherwiſe but be well, for I am, though in priſon, the moſt honored knight in the world.' 'How ſo?' rejoined the prince. 'They ſay in France,' anſwered ſir Bertrand, 'as well as in other countries, that you are ſo much afraid of me, and have ſuch a dread of my gaining my liberty, that you dare not ſet me free; and this is my reaſon for thinking myſelf ſo much valued and honored.' The prince, on hearing theſe words, thought ſir Bertrand had ſpoken them with much good ſenſe; for, in truth, his council were unwilling he ſhould have his liberty, until don Pedro had paid to the prince and his army the money he had engaged to do: he anſwered, 'What, ſir Bertrand, do you imagine that we keep you a priſoner for fear of your proweſs? By St. George, it is not ſo; for, my good ſir, if you will pay one hundred thouſand francs, you ſhall be free.' Sir Bertrand was anxious for his liberty, and now, having heard upon what terms he could obtain it, taking the prince at his

word, replied, 'My lord, through God's will, I will never pay a leſs ſum.' The prince, when he heard this, began to repent of what he had done. It is ſaid, that ſome of his council went farther, and told him; 'My lord, you have acted very wrong, in thus granting him ſo eaſily his ranſom.' They wanted to break through the agreement; but the prince, who was a good and loyal knight, replied; 'Since we have granted it, we will keep to it, and not act any way contrary; for it would be a ſhame, and we ſhould be blamed by every one for not agreeing to his ranſom, when he has offered to pay ſo largely for it as one hundred thouſand francs.'

From the time of this converſation, ſir Bertrand was taking great pains to ſeek the money, and was ſo active, that by the aſſiſtance of the king of France and the duke of Anjou, who loved him well, he paid in leſs than a month the hundred thouſand francs, and went to the aid of the duke of Anjou, with two thouſand combatants, in Provence, where the duke was laying ſiege to Taraſcon, which held out for the queen of Naples.

At this period *, a treaty of marriage was entered into between the lord Lionel, duke of Clarence and earl of Ulſter, with the daughter of the lord Galeas ſovereign of Milan. This young lady was niece to the earl of Savoy, being daughter of the lady Blanche his ſiſter. The treaty was ſo well conducted on both

* See Rymer, 1366, 1367, 1368, where the treaty is at length, and the names of thoſe who accompanied the duke of Clarence to Milan.

ſides that it was agreed upon. The duke of Clarence came from England, attended by a great number of Engliſh knights and ſquires to France, where he was received by the king, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy, and magnificently feaſted at Paris.

He paſſed through France, and entered Savoy, where the gallant earl received him moſt honorably, at Chamberry: he was handſomely entertained there, during three days, by the ladies, both young and old. On the fourth day, he departed. The earl of Savoy conducted him to Milan, where he eſpouſed his niece, the daughter of the lord Galeas, on the Monday after Trinity, in the year 1368. We will now return to the affairs of France.

You have before heard of the expedition which the prince of Wales made into Spain; how he had left it, diſcontented with the conduct of don Pedro, and was returned to Acquitaine.

When he arrived at Bourdeaux, he was followed by all the men at arms; for they were unwilling to remain in Spain longer, becauſe they could not obtain their pay from don Pedro, according to the engagements he had entered into with them. At the time of their return, the prince had not been able to collect money ſufficient for them as ſpeedily as he could have wiſhed; for it was wonderful to imagine how much this expedition had impoveriſhed and drained him: for which reaſon, thoſe men kept their quarters in Acquitaine, and could not be prevented from doing miſchief, as they were upwards of ſix thouſand fighting men. The prince had them

ſpoken to, and entreated that they would change their quarters, and ſeek elſewhere for a maintenance, for he could not longer ſupport them.

The captains of theſe companies (who were all Engliſh or Gaſcons, namely, ſir Robert Briquet, John Treſnelle, ſir Robert Cheney, ſir Gaillard Viguier, le bourg de Breteuil, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Eſparre, Nandon de Bagerant, Bernard de la Salle, Ortigo, la Nuit, and ſeveral others) were not willing to anger the prince; they therefore quitted the principality as ſoon as poſſible, and entered France, which they called their home, by croſſing the river Loire. They halted in Champagne, in the archbiſhoprick of Rheims, in the biſhopricks of Noyons and Soiſſons, and their numbers were daily increaſing. They were ſo much blamed for their former deeds by the French, which greatly irritated them, that they would willingly, as it appeared, have fought with all France, if they had been liſtened to: and to put this to the hazard, they made incurſions through the kingdom of France, where they did ſo much damage, and ſuch wicked acts, as cauſed great tribulation. Complaints were frequently made of them to the king of France, and to his council; but they could not remedy it, for they were afraid of riſking a battle, and ſome of thoſe who had been made priſoners from the French garriſons ſaid that the prince of Wales encouraged them underhand. Many in France were aſtoniſhed at this conduct of the prince. At laſt, the king of France ſent for the lord de Cliſſon, and appointed him captain againſt theſe diſorderly companies, be-

cauſe

cauſe he was a good and hardy knight, for which the king was very fond of him.

At this time, a marriage was concluded between the lord d'Albret and the lady Iſabella de Bourbon, which was not very agreeable to the prince of Wales, who would have wiſhed that he had choſen his wife from another houſe. He ſpoke very coarſely and rudely both of him and his bride. The principal perſons of his council, as well knights as ſquires, made excuſes for him as well as they could, by ſaying, 'Every one advances and aggrandizes himſelf in the beſt way he can; and a gallant knight ought never to be blamed, if he ſeek for honor and profit in the way moſt agreeable to himſelf, provided he do not fail in his ſervice to the lord whoſe vaſſal he is.' By theſe, and ſuch like words, was the prince anſwered, in hopes of appeaſing him: but nevertheleſs, in ſpite of appearances, he was very far from being ſatisfied; for he was well aware, that this marriage would cauſe an eſtrangement of affection from him and from his party, as in truth it happened, according to what will be hereafter more fully explained.

During the time the companies were quartering themſelves in France, the prince of Wales was adviſed by ſome of his council to lay a tax on the lands of Acquitaine: the biſhop of Rhodez in Rouergue, in particular, took great pains to perſuade him to it. The eſtabliſhments of the prince and the princeſs were ſo grand, that no prince in Chriſtendom maintained greater magnificence.

The barons of Gaſcony, Poitou, Saintonge and Rouergue, who had the right of remonſtrating, as

well as thoſe from the principal towns in Acquitaine, were ſummoned to a council on this tax. This parliament was held at Niort; when the biſhop of Rhodez, chancellor of Acquitaine, in the preſence of the prince, explained fully the nature of this tax, in what manner it was to be levied, and that the prince had not any intentions to continue it longer than for five years, or until he ſhould have ſatisfied the large debt which had been cauſed by the Spaniſh expedition. The deputies from Poitou, Saintonge, Limouſin, Rouergue and la Rochelle were agreeable to this impoſition, provided the prince would keep his coin to the ſame ſtandard for ſeven years: but it was refuſed by thoſe from the upper parts of Gaſcony, namely, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret his nephew, the earl of Comminges, the viſcount of Carmain, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Cande, the lord de Pincornet, and ſeveral great barons from the counties, cities and good towns under their juriſdiction, ſaying, that 'in former times, when they were under the vaſſalage of the king of France, they were not oppreſſed by any tax, ſubſidy, impoſition or gabelle, and that they never would ſubmit to any ſuch oppreſſion ſo long as they could defend themſelves: that their lands and lordſhips were free from all duties, and that the prince had ſworn to maintain them in this ſtate. Nevertheleſs, in order to leave the parliament of the prince in an amicable manner, they declared, they would, when returned to their own country, conſider this buſineſs more fully; and that they would conſult ſeveral prelates, biſhops, abbots,

barons

barons and knights, to whom it belonged to ſpeak more deliberately on this demand than had hitherto been done.' The prince of Wales and his council not being able to gain more at this time, the parliament broke up at Niort, and each perſon returned to his own home; but they were commanded by the prince to return again by a certain day, which had been fixed upon before they broke up.

Theſe lords and barons of Gaſcony being arrived in their own country, and having their opinions ſtrengthened, were reſolved neither to return again to the parliament of the prince nor to ſuffer this tax to be impoſed upon their lands, even ſhould they be obliged to oppoſe force in preventing it.

Thus this country began its rebellion againſt the prince. The lords of Armagnac, d'Albret, de Comminges, the earl of Perigord, and ſeveral great prelates, barons, knights and ſquires of Gaſcony, went to France, to lay their complaints before the court of the king of France (the king and his peers being preſent) of the wrongs the prince was about to do them. They ſaid, they were under the juriſdiction of the king of France, and that they were bound to return to him as to their ſovereign lord.

The king of France, who was deſirous not openly to infringe the peace between the king of England and him, diſſembled his joy at theſe words, and replied in a guarded manner to the barons of Gaſcony, ſaying; 'Certainly, my lords, we ſhall always be very anxious to preſerve and even augment the juriſdiction of our inheritance and of the crown of France; but we have ſworn, as our father had done, to ſeveral articles of the peace, all of which we do

not now recollect; we will have them looked into and examined, and all that ſhall be in them to our and to your advantage we will aid you to preſerve. We will endeavour to make up your differences with our dear nephew the prince of Wales; for perhaps it has been through evil adviſers that he has wiſhed to encroach upon your and your vaſſals' franchiſes.' With this anſwer, which the king made to them off hand, the Gaſcons were mightily ſatisfied, and remained at Paris, near the king's perſon, without wiſhing to return home.

The prince was not pleaſed at this conduct. He continued to perſevere, and to make his council perſevere in the affair of the hearth tax. Sir John Chandos, who was one of the principal of his council and a valorous knight, was of a contrary opinion, and wanted the prince to deſiſt: ſo that, when he ſaw he could not ſucceed, in order that he might not be accuſed nor have any blame, he requeſted leave of the prince to viſit his eſtate of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, of which he was lord, for he had not been there theſe three years. The prince granted him leave; and ſir John Chandos ſet out from Poitou for Coutantin, and remained in the town of St. Sauveur upwards of half a year. In the mean time, the prince proceeded with this tax, which, if it had been properly managed, would have been worth twelve hundred thouſand francs, one paying with the other one franc each fire. We will now return to king Henry, who had remained in the kingdom of Arragon, and relate how he conducted his affairs.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCXLIII.

THE BASTARD HENRY OF CASTILLE, BY THE ASSISTANCE OF THE KING OF ARRAGON AND SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, AGAIN MAKES WAR UPON HIS BROTHER DON PEDRO.—HAVING DEFEATED HIM IN A BATTLE, HE IS MADE PRISONER, AND MURDERED.—HENRY REMAINS KING OF SPAIN.

THE ſituation of the prince of Wales and the ſtate of his affairs were well known to the neighbouring monarchs; particularly to the king of Arragon and king Henry; for they took great pains to gain information concerning them. They had been truly told how the barons of Gaſcony were gone to Paris, to wait on the king; and that all that country was beginning to rebel againſt the prince. This intelligence was not diſpleaſing to either of the above-mentioned kings, eſpecially king Henry, who looked forward to the conqueſt of Caſtille, which he had loſt through the power of the prince of Wales.

King Henry took leave of the king of Arragon, and ſet out from the city of Valencia, accompanied by the viſcounts de Roquebertin * and de Rhodez. They had with them three thouſand men at arms and ſix thouſand infantry, including ſome Genoeſe, who ſerved for a ſubſidy.

* Rocaberti.—*Ferrera's Hiſt. Gen. d'Eſpagne*, tranſlated by d'Hermilly.

This body of men at arms advanced into Spain, to the city of Burgos, which inſtantly opened its gates, and ſurrendered to king Henry, receiving him as its lord. From thence they marched to Valladolid; for king Henry had received information that the king of Majorca had been left there, which gave him great joy.

When the inhabitants of Valladolid heard that thoſe of Burgos had ſurrendered and had acknowledged king Henry, they no longer thought of making any reſiſtance or holding out againſt him, but ſurrendered alſo, and received king Henry as their lord, in the ſame manner as formerly.

As ſoon as king Henry had entered the town, he inquired where the king of Majorca was lodged, and when the place was pointed out to him, he immediately, on his going thither, entered the hôtel and the room where he was confined by illneſs. King Henry advanced towards him, and ſaid; 'King of Majorca, you have been our enemy, and have entered our kingdom of Caſtille with a large army; for which reaſons we lay our hands on you, and make you our priſoner, or you are a dead man.' The king of Majorca, ſenſible of the difficulty of his ſituation and that oppoſition would be of no avail, replied; 'Sir, I am certainly dead, if you order it ſo; but I am very willing to ſurrender myſelf as your priſoner, and to you alone. If you intend to place me in any other's hands, ſay ſo; for I had much rather die than fall into the hands of my adverſary the king of Arragon.' 'By no means

what,

whatever,' anſwered king Henry, 'will I act ſo diſloyally by you, for which, and with good reaſon I ſhould be greatly blamed. You ſhall remain my priſoner, for me to ranſom or ſet at liberty according to my own will and pleaſure *.'

Thus was the king of Majorca made priſoner, on his oath, by king Henry, who placed a numerous garriſon in Valladolid, for the more ſecurely guarding it, and then advanced towards the city of Léon in Spain, which immediately opened its gates on hearing he was marching that way.

Upon the ſurrender of the city of Léon to king Henry, the whole province of Galicia did the ſame, and changed their party. The principal barons and lords, who lately had done homage to the king don Pedro, came out to meet king Henry; for, notwithſtanding their outward appearances of friendſhip to don Pedro during the preſence of the prince of Wales, they could not love him, from the cruelties he had formerly exerciſed upon them, and from their doubts of what he might do in future; whilſt king Henry had always treated them kindly: not only did he not oppreſs them, but promiſed to do them much good: all the country, therefore, returned to their allegiance to him.

Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin had not as yet arrived in Spain, but was haſtening to join king Henry

* The king of Majorca was afterwards ranſomed by his wife, the too celebrated Jane of Naples, whoſe third huſband he was, for 28,000 florins of gold.—*Vie de du Gueſclin.*

with

with two thouſand fighting men. He had left the duke of Anjou, who had put an end to the war in Provence, and broken up the ſiege of Taraſcon by a capitulation with its inhabitants, the terms of which I do not know *.

He had therefore ſet out for Spain, attended by ſeveral French knights and ſquires, who were deſirous of ſignalizing their proweſs, and had already entered Arragon to join king Henry, who was laying ſiege to the city of Toledo.

News was brought to the king don Pedro of all theſe conqueſts; that the whole country was turning to his brother the baſtard, during the time he tarried in the neighbourhood of Seville, and on the borders of Portugal, where he was but little loved. Upon hearing theſe tidings, he was in a violent rage againſt his brother and againſt the Caſtillians, who had abandoned him, and declared with an oath, that he would avenge himſelf ſo ſeverely upon them, they ſhould be a warning to all others. He

* 'The duke of Anjou and Bertrand du Gueſclin having croſſed the Rhône, laid ſiege to Taraſcon, which is oppoſite to Beaucaire, the 4th March 1368. The real hiſtory of this ſiege is unknown to us; for we cannot place any reliance on the different authors of the life, or rather romance of Bertrand du Gueſclin, who relate various circumſtances about it. What may be depended on is, that the duke of Anjou, having beſieged Taraſcon by ſea and land, the inhabitants, who had an underſtanding with him, delivered up the town, of which he made himſelf maſter.'

Hiſt. Gen. de Languedoc, vol. iv. p. 336.

immc-

immediately iſſued his commands to all thoſe from whom he expected help or ſervice. He ſent to ſome, however, who never came, but excuſed themſelves to the beſt of their ability; whilſt others turned to king Henry, and paid to him their homage.

When the king don Pedro found his people were wavering, and failed to obey his ſummons, he began to be alarmed: he therefore applied to don Fernando de Caſtro for counſel, who had never yet deſerted him. He adviſed him to collect as large a force as he could from all countries, as well in Granada as elſewhere, and to haſten to meet his brother before he ſhould have made a farther progreſs into the kingdom.

Don Pedro did not heſitate following this advice, but ſent to the king of Portugal, who was his couſin-german, from whom he had a large body of men; and alſo to the kings of Granada, Bellemarine and Trameſames *, with whom he entered into alliances, and engaged to ſupport them in their kingdoms, and not to make war againſt them for the ſpace of thirty years. Theſe kings, on their part, ſent him upwards of twenty thouſand Moors, to aſſiſt him in his war. Don Pedro uſed ſo much activity that he had aſſembled, as well Chriſtians as

* Bellemarine—Trameſames. Probably Benmarin and Tremeçen, kingdoms in Barbary.

Neither Mariana nor Ferreras make mention of any other king than Mahomet king of Granada, who joined don Pédro with ſix thouſand cavalry and about thirty thouſand men.

Hiſt. Gen. de l'Eſpagne, vol. v. p. 400.

Moors,

Moors, forty thouſand men, in the country round Seville.

While theſe treaties and negotiations were going forwards, and during the time of the ſiege of Toledo, ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, with his body of two thouſand men, arrived in the camp of king Henry, where he was received with great joy, as was naturally to be expected: the whole army were happy at his arrival. The king don Pedro, who, as I have already ſaid, had aſſembled his whole force at Seville and in its environs, was deſirous of giving his brother battle: he left Seville with his numerous army, in order to raiſe the ſiege of Toledo. There may be between theſe two places, Seville and Toledo, ſeven days march.

Intelligence was brought to the army of king Henry, that don Pedro was approaching with forty thouſand men, including thoſe of every deſcription. He called a council, to conſider what was to be done, to which all the French and Arragonian knights were ſummoned; and in particular ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, by whoſe opinion they wiſhed to act. Sir Bertrand gave the following advice, which was followed, namely, that king Henry ſhould immediately collect as many of his army as he could ſpare from the ſiege, advance by forced marches to meet don Pedro, and in whatever ſituation he ſhould meet him begin the battle: 'For,' added he, 'we have heard that he is marching againſt us with a ſtrong army, and he would be too powerful, were he to come regularly upon us: let us, therefore, be beforehand with him, without his

his knowing any thing of our intentions; that we may ſurpriſe him and his army ſo unexpectedly as to have the advantage, and, I doubt not, defeat him.'

This plan of ſir Bertrand was applauded and followed. Towards evening, king Henry ſet out with a choſen body of men at arms, and left the command of the ſiege to his brother don Tello. On his march, he had his ſpies diſperſed over the country, in order to bring him exact intelligence the moment they ſhould ſee or hear of don Pedro and his army, and what condition they were in.

The king don Pedro was ignorant of every thing his brother was doing, even of his marching to meet him; ſo that he and his army were advancing ſlowly, in a very diſorderly manner. It fell out, that upon the dawn of day king Henry and his army met don Pedro and his force; for, the preceding night, he had ſlept in a caſtle called Montiel, where the lord of Montiel had received him with all poſſible honor and reſpect. He had left it very early in the morning, and was continuing his march in the ſame diſorderly manner, for he never expected to fight that day, when ſuddenly king Henry, his brother don Sancho, ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, by whoſe orders they acted, le bègue de Villaines, the lord de Roquebertin, the viſcount de Rhodez *, and

* M. Dillon, in his Hiſtory of Peter the Cruel, ſays, 'While Henry lay before Toledo, ambaſſadors arrived at his camp from Charles V. of France, who ſent his chamberlain, Fran-

and their companies, with banners flying and prepared for action, came upon them: they might be ſix thouſand fighting men: they advanced in very cloſe order, and at a full gallop, ſo that they fell heavily and with a good will upon the firſt they met, crying out, 'Caſtille, for king Henry!' and 'Our Lady, for Gueſclin!' They overthrew and defeated all whom they firſt encountered, driving them before them. Many were ſlain and unhorſed; for none were made priſoners, according to the orders of ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin the preceding day, on account of the great numbers of Jews and infidels who were in don Pedro's army.

When don Pedro, who was advancing with the largeſt diviſion of his army, received the news that his van had been defeated by his brother the baſtard and the French, he was amazed where they could come from: he perceived that he had been betrayed, and was in danger of loſing every thing; for his men were very much diſperſed; ſo that like a bold and valiant knight as he was, and of great reſource and enterprize, he halted upon the ſpot, and ordered his banner to be diſplayed in the wind to rally his men. He ſent orders for the rear to advance with all ſpeed, for that the engagement was begun. Upon this, all men of courage haſtened

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Francis de Perelles, viſcount de Rhodez, and John de Ric, lord of Neburis, to acquaint him, that war was declared between England and France, &c.'—Vol. ii. p. 104.

This John de Ric may perhaps be the Geoffry Ricon of Froiſſart.

towards

towards this banner, which was fluttering in the wind. The battle now became more general and hot: many of don Pedro's army were ſlain and unhorſed; for king Henry, ſir Bertrand, and their friends, fought them ſo manfully, that none could ſtand before them. The battle, however, was not ſo ſoon over; for don Pedro had ſuch immenſe numbers, as to be at leaſt ſix to one; but they were ſo cloſely followed that it was wonderful to ſee how they were diſcomfited and ſlain.

This battle of Spaniards againſt Spaniards, and the two brother kings, with their allies, near Montiel, was very grand and horrible. Many were the good knights on king Henry's ſide; ſuch as ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, ſir Geoffry Ricon, ſir Arnold de Limouſin, ſir Gauvain de Bailleul, le bègue de Villaines, Alain de St. Pol, Aliot de Calais and the Bretons who were there. From the kingdom of Arragon were the viſcount de Rocaberti, the viſcount de Rodais, with many other good knights and ſquires whom I cannot name, who performed various gallant deeds of arms, as in truth they had full need. They had ſtrange people to encounter, ſuch as Moors and Portugueſe: the Jews who were there very ſoon turned their backs, and would not fight; but thoſe from Granada and Bellemarine fought valiantly: they were armed with bows and lances, of which they made good uſe, and behaved themſelves right well. Don Pedro was in the midſt, and with intrepid courage fought ſo valiantly with his battle-axe that ſcarcely any dared to come near him.

King Henry drew up his diviſion oppoſite to his brother, in very compact order, and full of bold combatants, who ſhouted loudly, making good uſe of their lances; ſo that the army of don Pedro was thrown into confuſion, and thoſe near his perſon began to be alarmed. Don Fernando de Caſtro, who had watched over the king his lord, ſoon perceived (ſo good was his judgment) that their army would be beaten; for they were too much frightened from having been ſo ſuddenly attacked: he therefore ſaid to don Pedro, 'Sir, ſave yourſelf, and haſten back to the caſtle of Montiel, which you left this morning: if you retire thither, you will be in ſafety; but if you be taken, your enemies will ſlay you without mercy.' The king approved of this advice, ſet out directly on his retreat to the caſtle of Montiel, and arrived there ſo à propos that he found the gates of the caſtle open, where he was received with only eleven followers.

Whilſt this was paſſing, the remainder of his men, who were diſperſed over the plain, continued the combat as well as they could; for the Moors who were among them, and had not any knowledge of the country, were indifferent whether they were directly ſlain or ſuffered a long purſuit: they therefore ſold their lives dearly. Others alſo acted marvellouſly well.

Intelligence was brought to king Henry and to ſir Bertrand, that don Pedro had retreated to the caſtle of Montiel, where he had ſhut himſelf up; that le bègue de Villaines and his men had purſued him to the caſtle, which had but one path to enter

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or come from it, and that le bègue had there placed himſelf and fixed his pennon. King Henry and ſir Bertrand were delighted with this news: they advanced towards that place fighting and ſlaying multitudes, killing them like beaſts: they were quite fatigued with this buſineſs of butchery. The purſuit laſted more than three long hours, and there were upwards of fourteen thouſand killed and wounded: very few eſcaped: thoſe who did were from that part of the country, and acquainted with its ſtrong places.

This battle was fought under Montiel, and in its environs, the 13th day of Auguſt, 1368.

After the defeat of don Pedro and his army, king Henry and ſir Bertrand encamped themſelves before the caſtle of Montiel, where don Pedro was: they ſurrounded it on all ſides: for they ſaid truly, that what they had hitherto done would be of no effect, unleſs they took the caſtle of Montiel, with don Pedro, who had ſhut himſelf up in it. They ſent the principal part of their force back to Toledo, in order to reinforce the beſiegers, which was very agreeable to don Tello, who commanded there *.

The caſtle of Montiel was of ſufficient ſtrength to have held out a conſiderable time, if it had been properly victualled; but when don Pedro entered it, there was not enough for four days, which

* M. Dillon ſays, that Manrique archbiſhop of Toledo, aſſiſted by ſome able officers, had the command of the blockade of Seville, when Henry marched to meet don Pedro; and that don Tello had joined the king of Navarre in ſpoiling the kingdom of Spain.

much alarmed him and his companions. They were ſo ſtrictly watched that a bird could not eſcape from the caſtle without being noticed.

Don Pedro was in great anguiſh of heart at ſeeing himſelf thus ſurrounded by his enemies, well knowing that they would not enter into any treaty of peace or agreement with him; ſo that conſidering his dangerous ſituation, and the great want of proviſion in the caſtle, he was adviſed to attempt an eſcape with his eleven companions about midnight, and to put himſelf under the protection of God: he was offered guides that would conduct him to a place of ſafety.

They remained in the caſtle, with this determination, until midnight, when don Pedro, accompanied by don Fernando de Caſtro and others of the eleven companions, ſet out. It was very dark. At this hour, the bègue de Villaines had the command of the watch, with upwards of three hundred men.

Don Pedro had quitted the caſtle with his companions, and was deſcending by an upper path, but ſo quietly that it did not appear as if any one was moving: however, the bègue de Villaines, who had many ſuſpicions, and was afraid of loſing the object of his watch, imagined he heard the ſound of horſes' feet upon the cauſeway: he therefore ſaid to thoſe near him: 'Gentlemen, keep quiet: make no movement: for I hear the ſteps of ſome people. We muſt know who they are, and what they ſeek at ſuch an hour. I ſuſpect they are victuallers, who are bringing proviſion to the caſtle; for I know

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it is in this reſpect very ſcantily provided.' The bègue then advanced, his dagger on his wriſt, towards a man who was cloſe to don Pedro, and demanded, 'Who art thou? Speak, or thou art a dead man.' The man to whom the bègue had ſpoken was an Engliſhman, and refuſed to anſwer: he bent himſelf over his ſaddle, and daſhed forwards. The bègue ſuffered him to paſs; when addreſſing himſelf to don Pedro, and examining him earneſtly, he fancied it was the king, notwithſtanding the darkneſs of the night, from his likeneſs to king Henry his brother, for they very much reſembled each other. He demanded from him, in placing his dagger on his breaſt, 'And you, who are you? Name yourſelf, and ſurrender this moment, or you are a dead man.' In thus ſaying, he caught hold of the bridle of his horſe, and would not ſuffer him to eſcape as the former had done.

King don Pedro, who ſaw a large body of men at arms before him, and found that he could not by any means eſcape, ſaid to the bègue de Villaines, whom he recognized; 'Bègue, bègue, I am don Pedro king of Caſtille, to whom much wrong has been imputed, through evil counſellors. I ſurrender myſelf, and all my people, but twelve in number, as thy priſoners: we place ourſelves under thy guard and diſpoſition. I beſeech thee, in the name of thy gentility, that thou put me in a place of ſafety. I will pay for my ranſom whatever ſum thou ſhalt pleaſe to aſk; for, thank God, I have yet a ſufficiency to do that; but thou muſt prevent me from falling into the hands of the baſtard.'

The bègue (according to the information I have ſince received) replied, that he and his company might come with him in all ſecurity; for that his brother ſhould not from him have any intelligence of what had happened *. Upon this conſideration, they advanced, when don Pedro was conducted to the tent of the bègue, and into the chamber of ſir Lyon de Lakonet. He had not been there an hour, when king Henry and the viſcount de Rocaberti, with their attendants, but not in great numbers, came thither. As ſoon as king Henry had entered the chamber where don Pedro was, he ſaid, 'Where is this ſon of a jewiſh whore who calls himſelf king of Caſtille?' Don Pedro, who was a bold as well as a cruel man, ſtepped forward, and ſaid; 'Why, thou art the ſon of a whore, and I am the ſon of Alphonſo.' On ſaying this, he caught hold of king Henry in his arms, began to wreſtle with him, and, being the ſtrongeſt, threw him down under him upon *une aubarde, qu' on dit en François coeſte de mouterats de ſoye* †: placing his hand on his poignard,

* There are different accounts of this affair. Ferreras attributes the capture of don Pedro to Bertrand du Gueſclin, and not much to his honor: but I cannot believe this, as avarice was not a vice of ſuch gallant men, and am inclined to believe Froiſſart has been rightly informed.

† Not knowing how to tranſlate this, I have left it as in the original. Du Cange, in the laſt volume of his Gloſſary, refers the word *aubarde* to *abbarda*, in the firſt volume of the ſupplement, which is as follows: '*Abbarda*, Clitella—*adde*, Provincialibus bardo, noſtris olim *barde*, equi armatura.

Aubarde

nard, he would infallibly have killed him, if the viſcount de Rocaberti had not been preſent, who, ſeizing don Pedro by the legs, turned him over, by which means king Henry being uppermoſt, immediately drew a long poignard which he wore in his ſaſh, and plunged it into his body. His attendants entered the tent, and helped to diſpatch him. There were ſlain with him a knight from England called ſir Raoul Heline, who had formerly had the ſurname of the Green Squire, and another eſquire of the name of James Roland, becauſe they had put themſelves in poſtures of defence *.

But no harm was done to don Fernando de Caſtro, nor to the reſt of don Pedro's attendants: they continued, therefore, priſoners to le bègue de Villaines and to ſir Lyon de Lakonet.

Thus died don Pedro king of Caſtille, who had formerly reigned in great proſperity. Thoſe who

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Aubarde vero dixerunt, pro culcitra, vulgo *coite de matelas*.' Froiſſart quoting the expreſſions in the text.

Albardacha.—Gall. Hallebarde. Vide ſupra Alabarda.—Du Cange.

* 'With this unfortunate monarch there alſo fell two gallant Engliſhmen, who were ſlain for having drawn their ſwords in his defence when grappling with Henry. Theſe were ſir Ralph Holmes and James Rowland. The life of Fernando de Caſtro was ſpared, on account of his long attachment and fidelity to his ſovereign.

'Don Fernando de Caſtro, after the death of king Peter, made his eſcape into Portugal, and afterwards retired to Guienne, where he died. Over his tomb was placed the following inſcription: 'AQUI YACE DON FERNANDO PEREZ DE CASTRO, TODA LA FIDELIDAD DE ESPANA.

Dillon's Hiſt. of Peter the Cruel, vol. ii. p. 119.

had ſlain him left him three days unburied, which was a pity for the ſake of humanity; and the Spaniards made their jokes upon him.

On the morrow, the lord of Montiel came to ſurrender himſelf to king Henry, who received him graciouſly, as well as all thoſe who returned to their allegiance. News was ſoon ſpread abroad of the death of don Pedro, to the great joy of his enemies and ſorrow of his friends. When the king of Portugal heard in what manner his couſin don Pedro had been ſlain, he was mightily vexed at it, and ſwore he would have ſatisfaction for it. He immediately ſent a challenge to king Henry, and made war upon him, remaining maſter of all the environs of Seville for one whole ſeaſon. This, however, did not prevent king Henry from following his enterprize: he returned before Toledo, which ſurrendered to him as ſoon as it learnt the death of don Pedro; as did all the other parts of the country dependant on the crown of Caſtille. Even the king of Portugal did not wiſh to continue the war longer againſt king Henry; ſo that there was a treaty of peace concluded between them, by means of the barons and prelates of Spain.

King Henry, therefore, reigned in peace over all Caſtille. Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin, ſir Olivier de Mauny, and ſome others from France, Brittany and Arragon, continued with him, to whom king Henry behaved very handſomely: indeed, he was in juſtice bound ſo to do, for without their aid he would never have been able to have accompliſhed this buſineſs. Sir Bertrand du Gueſclin was made conſtable

ſtable of Spain, and received the eſtate of Soria, worth twenty thouſand francs a-year. The king gave to his nephew, ſir Olivier de Mauny, the eſtate of Creſte, worth ten thouſand francs a-year: and ſo on to the other knights with ſuch liberality that they were all contented. King Henry went to Burgos with his queen and children, to hold his court there, which he did in a princely ſtile *.

The kings of France and of Arragon, as well as the duke of Anjou who loved him perſonally, were very much rejoiced at the fortunate event of the war.

About this time died, the lord Lionel of England, who had croſſed the Alps, as has been before related, and had taken for his wife the daughter of the lord Galeas Viſconti, ſovereign of Milan. But, as his death appeared extraordinary †, the lord Edward Deſpenſer, his companion, who had remained with

* 'King Henry aſſembled the ſtates of the realm at Medina d'el Campo, to make arrangements for recompenſing the French and other knights. They paid Bertrand du Gueſclin one hundred and twenty thouſand gold florins. The king alſo gave Soria, Almazan, Atiença, Montéagudo and Seron, with their dependencies, to ſir Bertrand: to Olivier de Mauny, Agreda: Ribadéo, with the title of count, to the Viguerde Villames, whom he married to a lady of the Guzman family: Aquilar de Campo to Geoffry Relor, and Villalpand to Arnold Solier.'

Ferreras Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, vol. v. pp. 414, 415.

† 'Anno Domini 1367, et regni 42 Edwardi, Leonellus dux Clarentiæ obiit in natali S. Mariæ, ut fertur, potionatus.' *Lelandi Collectanea*, vol. 1. p. 251.

'Quo

with him, declared war againſt Galeas, and ſlew many of his ſubjects at different times: at laſt, how-

'Quo anno (1368), menſe Aprilis, Leonellus dux Clarenciæ, regis Edwardi tertii filius, cum electa multitudine nobilium Anglicorum tranſivit verſus Mediolanum, ad accipiendum in uxorem filiam domini Gallias, domini Mediolani, cum qua mediétatem ejuſdem dominii fuerat habiturus. Sed tamen modico tempore ſuper conjuge vel dominio gaudere permiſſus eſt, morte (quæ cuncta disjungit & ſeparat) mox præventus. Celebrato nempe inter eos cum maxima gloria matrimonio, Leonellus, circa feſtum nativitatis beatæ Mariæ proximo ſequentem diem clauſit extremum.'

Tho. Walſingham Hiſt. Angli. Edw. III. pp. 132, 3.

'Moreover, at the coming of Leonell, ſuch abundance of treaſure was in moſt bounteous manner ſpent, in making of moſt ſumptuous feaſts, ſetting forth ſtately ſights, and honoring with rare gifts above two hundred Engliſhmen who accompanied his ſon-in-law, as it ſeemed to ſurpaſs the greatneſs of moſt wealthy princes: for the banquet at which Francis Petrarch was preſent amongſt the chiefeſt gueſts, had about thirty courſes of ſervice at the table, and betwixt every courſe there were as many preſents of wondrous price intermixed; all which John Galeaſius, chief of the choice youth, bringing to the table, did offer to Leonell. There were in one only courſe ſeventy goodly horſes, adorned with ſilk and ſilver furniture; and in another ſilver veſſels, falcons, hounds, armour for horſes, coſtly coats of mail, breaſt-plates gliſtering of maſly ſteel, helmets and corſelets decked with coſtly creſts, apparelled diſtinct with coſtly jewels, ſoldiers girdles, and laſtly certain gems by curious art ſet in gold, and purple, and cloth of gold for mens apparel in great abundance. And ſuch was the ſumptuouſneſs of that banquet that the meats which were brought from table would ſufficiently have ſerved ten thouſand men. But not long after, Leonell, living with his new wife, whilſt after the manner of his own country, as forgetting or not regarding his

however, the earl of Savoy made peace between them. Let us now return to what was going forwards in the duchy of Acquitaine.

CHAP. CCXLIV.

KING CHARLES V. IS ADVISED TO DECLARE HIMSELF LORD PARAMOUNT OF GUIENNE AND ACQUITAINE, ON ACCOUNT OF THE HEARTH TAX WHICH THE PRINCE OF WALES WAS ABOUT TO RAISE.—THIS CAUSES A RENEWAL OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

WE have before related how the prince had been adviſed to raiſe a hearth tax in his dominions: by which many thought themſelves overburdened, eſpecially the Gaſcons; for thoſe of the low countries of Poitou, Saintonge and la Rochelle had acceded to it with tolerable good humour, as living nearer the reſidence of their prince, and as being more obedient and more tractably diſpoſed to the ordinances of their lords, more to be depended on, and firmer in their allegiance than thoſe from the more diſtant parts of the country.

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his change of air, he addicted himſelf overmuch to untimely banquettings, ſpent and conſumed with a lingering ſickneſs, dyed at Alba.'

This account from Stow, pp. 267, 268, edition 1631, ſeems very naturally to account for the death of the duke of Clarence, without ſuppoſing it cauſed by treachery.

For a more particular account of this entertainment, ſee Corio's Hiſtory of Milan, printed at Milan 1503.

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In order to carry theſe intentions of the prince into effect, ſeveral parliaments were held at Niort, Angoulême, Poitiers, Bourdeaux and Bergerac: but the Gaſcons declared they would never pay this tax, nor ſuffer it to be laid upon their lands, and aſſerted, that they had an appeal to the courts of the king of France. This claim of appeal much angered the prince, who anſwered, that they had no ſuch appeal; for that the king of France had ſurrendered all right to appeals and juriſdictions, when he had given theſe territories to his lord and father, as was fully apparent by the treaties of peace; for that the negotiators of this peace had not reſerved the ſlighteſt article whereby an appeal to the king of France could be made. To this the Gaſcons replied, that it was not lawful for the king of France, nor in his power, nor had ever been in his power, to free them from appealing to him, without the will of the prelates, barons, cities and principal towns of Gaſcony, who would never have conſented to it, nor ever will conſent to it, if it were to be propoſed, becauſe it would be the cauſe of a perpetual warfare with France.

Thus were the prince and the barons of Gaſcony quarelling with each other; for either party ſupported his own opinion, and maintained that it was the right. The earl of Armagnac, the earl of Comminges, the lord d'Albret, the earl of Perigord and ſeveral other barons from Gaſcony, remained quiet at Paris, near the perſon of the king, and at his leiſure moments informed his majeſty, that the prince, through pride and preſumption, was deſirous

ſirous of trampling them under his feet, and oppreſſing them with taxes upon their lands which had not been heard of before, and which they would never permit to be levied. They demonſtrated to the king, that they had an appeal to him, and demanded that the prince ſhould be ſummoned before the parliament and the peers, to anſwer for the grievances and oppreſſions he intended to lay on them.

The king of France liſtened with complacency to theſe lords of Gaſcony, when they requeſted from him help and aſſiſtance as from their ſovereign lord, adding, that ſhould he refuſe it to them, they would withdraw their allegiance, and apply to ſome other court; ſo that, for fear of loſing his claim to this ſovereignty, he in the end complied with their requeſt.

He was, however, ſenſible that this affair muſt cauſe a war, which he was deſirous not to begin without ſome appearance of right: beſides, his kingdom was not recovered from the effects of the late war, nor from the oppreſſions of the free companies and other enemies. In addition alſo to theſe reaſons, his brother the duke of Berry was ſtill a hoſtage in England; ſo that he was determined to act with prudence and caution.

About this time, ſir Guy de Ligny, earl of St. Pol, had returned to France from England, without permiſſion of the Engliſh, by a very ingenious trick. As the full detail of it would take a conſiderable time, I paſs it over. This earl hated the Engliſh more than words can expreſs, and took much

much pains that the king of France ſhould accede to the requeſt of the Gaſcon lords; for he was well aware, that if the prince of Wales were ſummoned to appear before the parliament, it would create a war.

Many prelates, barons, earls and knights of France had united themſelves with the earl of St. Pol, and had told the king, that the king of England had not in any way maintained the peace, nor paid any reſpect to what he had ſworn and ſealed, according to the tenor of the treaties which had been made at Bretigny near Chartres, and afterwards confirmed at Calais; for the Engliſh had carried on the war with France in an underhand manner, as much, if not more, ſince the peace had been made than before. They remonſtrated with the king on this ſubject, adding, that if he would have the articles and treaty of peace read, which had been accepted by the king of England and his eldeſt ſon upon their faith and oath, he would find the truth of what they had told him.

Upon this, the king of France, to be better informed, and to preſerve the rights of his crown, ordered all the papers relative to the laſt peace, to be brought to the council-chamber, where they were read ſeveral times, that the different points and articles might be fully examined. They were very carefully inſpected, and among them they found one relating to the territories given up, which the king and his council fixed on with greater attention, becauſe it ſpoke fully and clearly on the ſubject they were deſirous to diſcuſs. The paper was in theſe terms:

'Edward,

'Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Acquitaine, to all thoſe to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greeting. Know all, that in the agreement and final peace entered into between our very dear brother the king of France and ourſelves, there are two articles of the following tenor: Item, the aforeſaid kings ſhall be bound to have all the before-mentioned things confirmed by our holy father the pope; and they ſhall be ſtrengthened by oaths, ſentences and cenſures of the court of Rome, and by every other bond in the ſtrongeſt manner poſſible: and there ſhall be obtained from the aforeſaid court of Rome diſpenſations, abſolutions, and letters in regard to the perfecting and accompliſhing this preſent treaty, which ſhall be forwarded to the different parties within three weeks at the lateſt after the king ſhall be arrived at Calais. Item, in order that the aforeſaid things, which have been gone through and treated of, may be more firm and ſtable, the ſecurities which follow ſhall be given; that is to ſay, letters drawn up in the beſt poſſible manner by the councils of the two kings, and ſealed with the ſeals of the two kings, and alſo with the ſeals of their two eldeſt ſons. The aforeſaid kings, their eldeſt ſons, and their children, as well as others of the branches of the royal family, and of the principal nobility of their kingdoms, to the number of twenty, ſhall ſwear they will keep, and help to keep as far as in them lies, all theſe articles which have been made, entered into and agreed upon, and will keep them without doing any thing

contrary, either by fraud, malice, or by any hindrance whatever. And if there ſhould be any perſons in the two before-mentioned kingdoms of France and England who ſhall be rebellious, and not conſenting to the aforeſaid treaties, the two aforeſaid kings together ſhall uſe every exertion of body, fortune and friends, to bring the aforeſaid rebels into true obedience, according to the form and tenor of the aforeſaid treaty. And withal the two aforeſaid kings will ſubmit themſelves and their kingdoms to the coercion of our holy father the pope, in order that he may conſtrain by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, or other proper means, him who ſhall be rebellious, according to what ſhall be thought reaſonable. And among the ſecurities and aſſurances aforeſaid, the two kings ſhall renounce for themſelves and their heirs, upon their faith and oath, all wars and actions of war: and if through diſobedience, rebellion or power of ſome of the ſubjects of the kingdom of France, or through any other juſt cauſe, the king of France ſhall not be able to accompliſh and fulfil all the things aforeſaid, the king of England aforeſaid, his heirs and kingdom, or any of them, ſhall not make war, nor cauſe war to be made upon the aforeſaid king of France, nor upon his heirs nor kingdom; but both together ſhould unite and exert themſelves in bringing back the aforeſaid rebels to their proper obedience, and to the fulfilling the aforeſaid things. And alſo, if in the aforeſaid kingdom, and under the obedience of the king of England, there ſhould be any not willing to ſurrender and give up thoſe caſtles,

caſtles, towns or fortreſſes which they hold in the kingdom of France, nor to obey the aforeſaid treaty: or if, through any juſt cauſe, the king of England ſhall be prevented from accompliſhing what is laid down in the aforeſaid treaty, neither the king of France, his heirs, nor any one for them, ſhall make war upon the king of England, nor upon his kingdom; but both of them together will, with all their might, endeavour to regain the aforeſaid caſtles, towns and fortreſſes, and to bring back ſuch rebels to their proper obedience, ſo that the perfect fulfilment of the aforeſaid treaties may be wrought. And there ſhall be mutually given on both parts, according to the nature of the act, every ſort of ſecurity which may be deviſed, as well by the pope and college of Rome as by others, for the maintaining the peace and other articles of the treaty. For which reaſons, wiſhing to preſerve and cheriſh a perpetual peace and love between us and our aforeſaid brother and kingdom of France, we have renounced, and by theſe preſents do renounce, all war and offenſive acts againſt our brother aforeſaid, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the kingdom of France, and his ſubjects. And we promiſe and ſwear, and have promiſed and ſworn upon the body of JESUS CHRIST, for ourſelves and ſucceſſors, that we will not do, nor ſuffer to be done, any act or word againſt this renunciation, nor againſt any thing contained in theſe aforeſaid articles. And if we ſhould do or ſuffer to be done any thing to the contrary, which God forbid, we are willing to be reputed falſe, wicked and perjured, and to incur ſuch

blame and infamy as a conſecrated and crowned king ought to incur in ſimilar caſes. We renounce all idea of importuning any diſpenſation or abſolution from the pope from our oath aforeſaid; and if obtained, we declare it to be null and of no weight, and that no advantage whatever ought to be made of it. In order more fully to ſtrengthen the aforeſaid declarations, we ſubmit ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, to the juriſdiction and coercion of the church of Rome, and will and conſent that our holy father the pope confirm all theſe things by ordering monitory and general mandates for the accompliſhment of them, againſt us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, and againſt our ſubjects, (whether commonalties, univerſities, colleges or private perſons of whatever deſcription,) and by granting ſentences of excommunication, ſuſpenſion or interdict, to be incurred by us or by them, as ſoon as we or they ſhall attempt or do any thing contrary to theſe articles, by occupying towns, caſtles, fortreſſes, or any other act, by giving comfort, aid, advice or aſſiſtance, that may in any way infringe upon the true meaning, of this treaty.

'We have cauſed our very dear eldeſt ſon, Edward prince of Wales, to ſwear to the aforeſaid articles, in like manner as ourſelf; and alſo our younger ſons, Lionel earl of Ulſter, John earl of Richmond and Edmund of Langley; and alſo our dear couſin Philip de Navarre, the dukes of Lancaſter and Brittany, the earls of Stamford and Saliſbury, the lord of Manny, the captal de Buch, the lord de Monfort, lord James Audley, ſir Roger Beau-

Beauchamp, ſir John Chandos, lord Ralph Ferrers, lord Edward de Spenſer, ſir William and ſir Thomas Felton, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, ſir Franque van Halle, ſir John Moubray, ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh, ſir Henry Percy, and ſeveral other knights. And we will alſo have the aforeſaid articles in like manner ſworn to, as ſoon as we well can, by our other children, and by the greater part of our prelates, churchmen, earls, barons and other nobles of our realm. In witneſs whereof, we have affixed our ſeal to theſe preſents, given in our town of Calais, the 24th day of October, in the year of grace 1360*.'

Among other letters which had been drawn up, as well at Bretigny near Chartres as at Calais, during king John's reſidence there, was the above letter, now under examination of king Charles, his eldeſt ſon, and the principal perſons of his council. After it had been maturely conſidered by the prelates and barons of France who had been ſummoned to this council, they told the king, that neither the king of England nor the prince of Wales had kept or fulfilled the articles of the treaty of Bretigny; but, on the contrary, had taken poſſeſſion of caſtles and towns by force, and had remained in the aforeſaid kingdom of France, to its great loſs; where they had pillaged and ranſomed its ſubjects; by which means, the payment for the redemption of the late king John was ſtill part in arrear: that upon this, and upon other points, the king of France and his

* See this and other treaties, in the Fœdera, relative to the peace of Bretigny.

ſubjects had good right and juſt cauſe to break the peace, to make war upon the Engliſh, and deprive them of the poſſeſſions they had on this ſide the ſea.

The king was alſo ſecretly adviſed, after much deliberation, in ſuch words as theſe: 'Dear ſire, undertake with courage this war: you have a very good cauſe to induce you to do ſo: and know, that as ſoon as you ſhall have determined upon it, you will find that many in the duchy of Acquitaine will turn to your ſide; ſuch as prelates, barons, earls, knights, ſquires, and citizens of the principal towns; for as the prince proceeds in levying this hearth tax, in the ſame proportion will hatred and ill-will follow from all ranks, as they will be very miſerable ſhould he ſucceed in his attempt. As for thoſe of Poitou, Saintonge, Rouergue, Quercy, and la Rochelle, from their nature they cannot love the Engliſh, who in their turn, being proud and preſumptuous, have not any affection for them, nor ever had. Add to this, that the officers of the prince are ſuch extortioners, as to lay their hands on whatever they can find, and levy ſuch heavy taxes, under the name of the prince, that they leave nothing to the ſubject: beſides, the gentlemen of the country cannot obtain any offices, for they are all ſeized on by the Engliſh knights attached to the prince.'

By theſe arguments, the king of France was determined to declare war; and the duke of Anjou, who at that time was at Toulouſe, took great pains to bring it about; for he was very deſirous that the war ſhould be renewed with the Engliſh, as he was

one

one who could not love them for ſome affronts they had put upon him in former times *.

On the other hand, the Gaſcons frequently ſaid to the king of France; 'Dear ſire, we inſiſt that we have an appeal to your court, (and therefore ſupplicate you to do us juſtice, as being the moſt upright prince in the world,) in regard to the great injuries and extortions which the prince of Wales and his people want to impoſe upon us. Should you refuſe, however, to do us right, we will ſeek for it in other courts, and we will place ourſelves under that lord who will exert himſelf to preſerve our rights; by which means you may loſe the principality.'

The king of France, who very unwillingly would have ſuffered this loſs, for it would have been of the greateſt prejudice to his kingdom, made a courteous reply; 'that never, for want of law or advice ſhould they apply to any other court than his own; but it was proper ſuch affairs ſhould be treated with much deliberation and prudence.'

In this manner, he kept them in expectation for one year, detaining them privately at Paris; where, beſides paying all their expences, he made them handſome preſents and gave them rich jewels. He, however, inquired ſecretly, whether, in caſe the peace ſhould be broken, and war with the Engliſh recommence, they would ſupport him: they replied, that he ought not to be alarmed, nor prevent-

* Very probably for having eſcaped diſhonorably from England, where he was an hoſtage for his father king John.

ed from carrying on the war in their country, as they were ſufficiently able to make head againſt the prince, and all the force he could employ.

The king, at the ſame time, founded thoſe of Abbeville, if they would return to their allegiance, and become good Frenchmen: they deſired nothing more earneſtly than to do ſo, for much did they hate the Engliſh. Thus did the king of France acquire friends on all ſides: otherwiſe, he would not have dared to act as he did. At this time was born Charles of France, eldeſt ſon to the king of France, in the year of grace, 1368, which gave great joy to the kingdom. Before this time, had been born Charles d'Albret. The birth of theſe two children, who were couſins german, was highly pleaſing to the whole realm, but particularly to the king of France.

CHAP. CCXLV.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS A SUMMONS TO THE PRINCE OF WALES, TO APPEAR IN THE CHAMBER OF PEERS AT PARIS, IN THE MATTER OF AN APPEAL FROM THE BARONS OF GASCONY.

THE king of France was ſo ſtrongly adviſed by his council, and ſo ſtrenuouſly entreated by the Gaſcons, that an appeal was drawn up, and ſent to Acquitaine, to ſummon the prince of Wales to appear before the parliament of Paris. It was in the names of the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord and of Comminges, the viſcount

count of Carmaing, the lords de la Barde and de Pincornet, who were the principal appellants.

In this appeal, the ſaid Gaſcons complained of certain oppreſſive grievances which the prince of Wales and of Acquitaine was about to inflict on them and their vaſſals; and that the ſaid Gaſcons appealed to and claimed the juriſdiction of the king of France, whom, as a matter of right, they had choſen for their judge.

When this appeal from the ſaid barons and lords of Gaſcony had been well drawn out, and reduced to writing, after different corrections, in the beſt poſſible manner by the wiſeſt of the French council, and after it had been very fully conſidered, they reſolved that it ſhould be ſignified to the prince of Wales, that they ſummoned him to appear in perſon, in the chamber of peers at Paris, to anſwer the complaints made againſt him and attend the judgment: to which effect, orders were given to an eloquent lawyer, that the buſineſs might be more properly done, and to a very noble knight of Beauce, called Caponnel de Caponnal.

Theſe two commiſſioners left Paris with their attendants, taking the road towards Bourdeaux. They paſſed through Berry, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, and came to Blaye, where they croſſed the Garonne: from thence they went to Bourdeaux, where the prince and princeſs at that time reſided, more than at any other place. Theſe commiſſioners declared wherever they paſſed, that they were come by orders of the king of France; by which means, they were in all places well received.

When they entered the city of Bourdeaux, they took up their quarters at an inn (for it was late, about the hour of veſpers), and remained there all that night. On the following day, at a proper hour, they went to the abbey of St. Andrew, where the prince of Wales kept his court.

The knights and ſquires of the prince received them kindly, out of reſpect to the king of France, by whom they ſaid they were ſent. The prince of Wales was ſoon informed of their arrival, and ordered them to be brought to him. When they came into his preſence, they bowed very low, and ſaluted him with great reſpect (as was on every account his due, and they well knew how to pay it), and then gave him their credential letters. The prince took them, and, after having read every word, ſaid, 'You are welcome: now communicate all that you have to ſay to us.' 'Reſpected ſir,' ſaid the lawyer, 'here are letters which were given to us by our honored lord the king of France; which letters we engaged on our faith to publiſh in your preſence, for they nearly relate to you.' The prince upon this changed colour, from his great difficulty to conjecture what they could relate to: the barons and knights who were with him were equally aſtoniſhed: but he reſtrained himſelf, and added, 'Speak, ſpeak: all good news we will cheerfully hear.' The lawyer then opened the letter, and read, word for word, the contents of it, which were:

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to our nephew the prince of Wales and Acquitaine, health.

health. Whereas ſeveral prelates, barons, knights, univerſities, fraternities and colleges of the country and diſtrict of Gaſcony, reſiding and inhabiting upon the borders of our realm, together with many others from the country and duchy of Acquitaine, have come before us, in our court, to claim juſtice for certain grievances and unjuſt oppreſſions which you, through weak counſel and fooliſh advice, have been induced to do to them, and at which we are much aſtoniſhed. Therefore, in order to obviate and remedy ſuch things, we do take cogniſance of their cauſe, inſomuch that we, of our royal majeſty and ſovereignty, order and command you to appear in our city of Paris in perſon, and that you ſhew and preſent yourſelf before us, in our chamber of peers, to hear judgment pronounced upon the aforeſaid complaints and grievances done by you to your ſubjects, who claim to be heard, and to have the juriſdiction of our court. Let there be no delay in obeying this ſummons, but ſet out as ſpeedily as poſſible after having heard this order read. In witneſs whereof, we have affixed our ſeal to theſe preſents. Given at Paris, the 25th day of January, 1369.'

CHAP. CCXLVI.

THE PRINCE OF WALES IMPRISONS THE COMMISSIONERS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE WHO HAD BROUGHT HIM THE SUMMONS OF APPEAL FROM THE LORDS OF GASCONY TO THE COURT OF FRANCE.

WHEN the prince of Wales had heard this letter read, he was more aſtoniſhed than before. He ſhook his head; and after having eyed the ſaid Frenchmen, and conſidered awhile, he replied as follows: 'We ſhall willingly attend on the appointed day at Paris, ſince the king of France ſends for us; but it will be with our helmet on our head, and accompanied by ſixty thouſand men.' The two Frenchmen, upon this, fell on their knees, ſaying; 'Dear ſir, have mercy, for God's ſake: do not bear this appeal with too much anger nor indignation. We are but meſſengers ſent by our lord the king of France, to whom we owe all obedience (as your ſubjects in like manner do to you), and to whom it is proper we ſhould pay it: therefore, whatever anſwer you ſhall wiſh to charge us with, we will very willingly report it to our lord.' 'Oh no,' replied the prince, 'I am not in the leaſt angry with you, but with thoſe who ſent you hither. Your king has been ill-adviſed, thus to take the part of our ſubjects, and to wiſh to make himſelf judge of what he has nothing to do with, nor any right to interfere in. It ſhall be very clearly demonſtrated to him, that when he gave poſſeſſion and ſeiſin of the whole duchy of Acquitaine to our lord and father,

father, or to his commiſſaries, he ſurrendered alſo all juriſdiction over it; and all thoſe who have now appealed againſt us, have no other court to apply to, but that of England, and to our lord and father. It ſhall coſt a hundred thouſand lives, before it ſhall be otherwiſe.'

On ſaying this, the prince quitted them, and entered another apartment, leaving them quite thunderſtruck.

Some Engliſh knights came to them, and ſaid; 'My lords, you muſt go from hence, and return to your hôtel: you have well executed the buſineſs you came here upon, but you will not have any other anſwer to it than what you have juſt heard.'

The knight and lawyer returned to their inn, where having dined, they ſoon after packed up their baggage, and mounting their horſes, ſet out from Bourdeaux, taking the road to Toulouſe, to relate to the duke of Anjou what they had done.

The prince of Wales was much caſt down by this appeal which had been made againſt him. His knights and barons were not in better ſpirits: they wiſhed, and even adviſed the prince to kill the two meſſengers, as a ſalary for their pains; but the prince forbade it to be done. His thoughts, however, were ill-inclined to them: when he heard they were ſet out, and had taken the road towards Toulouſe, he called ſir Thomas Felton*, the high ſteward of Rouergue, ſir Thomas de

* Barnes ſays, ſir Thomas Felton was ſénéſchal of Acquitaine, and ſir Thomas Wake ſénéſchal of Rouergue.

Pont-

Pontchardon, ſir Thomas Percy, his chancellor the biſhop of Rodez, and ſeveral others of his principal barons; of whom he aſked, 'Have theſe Frenchmen that are gone away any paſſports from me?' They anſwered, that they had heard nothing about it. 'No,' replied the prince, ſhaking his head: 'it is not right that they ſhould ſo eaſily leave our country, and go to relate their prattle to the duke of Anjou, who loves us little, and ſay how they have ſummoned us perſonally in our own palace. They are, upon due conſideration, meſſengers from my vaſſals, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord, Comminges and of Carmaing, rather than from the king of France; ſo that, for the vexation they have given us, we conſent they ſhould be detained and thrown into priſon.' The council of the prince were well pleaſed on hearing this, as it was before their advice, and ſaid it had been but too long delayed.

The high ſteward of Agénois was charged with this commiſſion: his name was ſir William le Moine, a very gallant and noble knight of England: who immediately mounted his horſe with his attendants, and left Bourdeaux. He made ſuch haſte, in purſuing theſe Frenchmen, that he overtook them before they had paſſed the diſtrict of Agénois. Upon coming up with them, he arreſted them under title of his office, and found another pretence for ſo doing without compromiſing the prince, whoſe name he never mentioned, but ſaid, their hoſt of the preceding evening had complained to him that they had taken one of his horſes in miſtake

miſtake from his inn. The knight and lawyer were aſtoniſhed on hearing this, and endeavoured to excuſe themſelves, but in vain, for they could not obtain their liberty. They were conducted to the city of Agen, and put in the priſon of the caſtle. The Engliſh ſuffered ſome of their attendants to return to France, who, paſſing through Toulouſe, related to the duke of Anjou every thing as it had happened. The duke was not much diſpleaſed thereat; for he thought it would be the beginning of the war, and prepared to take his meaſures accordingly.

News of the impriſonment of his commiſſioners was ſoon carried to the king of France; for their ſervants, being returned to court, told all they had ſeen and heard from their maſters, in regard to the ſtate, government and countenance of the prince of Wales; which, coming to the ears of the king, inflamed his anger: he was greatly vexed, and thought much upon it, as well as on the words of the prince, on receiving this appeal, namely, that he would attend the appeal in perſon, with his helmet on his head, accompanied by ſixty thouſand men. This haughty and proud anſwer occupied the mind of the king of France: he therefore, moſt prudently and wiſely, began to make preparations for ſupporting the weight of this enſuing war; for in truth it was likely to be very heavy as well as hazardous, and to draw upon him the whole force of the king of England, againſt whom his predeceſſors had laboured ſo much in former times, as has been related in this hiſtory. But he was

ſtrongly

ſtrongly ſolicited by the great lords of Guyenne on the other hand, who demonſtrated to him the extortions of the Engliſh, and the great loſſes which this might in future occaſion to him, the truth of which he well knew. What appeared to affect him the moſt, in beginning this war, was his conſideration for the deſtruction of his poor people, which might continue for a long time, and the dangers and opprobrium which his nobles had ſuffered from the laſt war.

CHAP. CCXLVII.

THE DUKE OF BERRY AND SEVERAL MORE LORDS, WHO HAD BEEN HOSTAGES IN ENGLAND, RETURN TO FRANCE.

THE king of France and his council, not regarding the haughty anſwer from the prince of Wales, made every preparation which might be neceſſary for the grand event about to take place.

At this period, the lord John of France, duke of Berry had returned home, through the favor of the king of England, who had granted him permiſſion to remain a year in France. He acted ſo prudently, and made ſo many different excuſes, that he never went back; for the war ſpeedily broke out, as you will hear related.

Sir John de Harcourt had alſo returned to his own country, where his eſtates had been granted him, through the ſolicitations of ſir Louis de Harcourt his uncle, who was from Poitou, and at the

time one of the prince's knights. Sir John de Harcourt fell ſick, which happened to him very opportunely; for it laſted until the renewal of the war, ſo that he never again returned to England.

Sir Guy de Blois, who at that time was a young ſquire, and brother to the earl of Blois, obtained his liberty alſo; for when he perceived that the king of France, for whom he was hoſtage, had not thought of ranſoming him, he made overtures to the lord de Coucy, who had married one of the king's daughters, and who had a very great revenue in right of his wife, aſſigned to him on the king's treaſury. This treaty advanced ſo well between the king, his ſon-in-law, and ſir Guy, that the latter, with the permiſſion of his two brothers Louis and John, and with the conſent of the king of France, gave up wholly and abſolutely into the hands of the king of England, the county of Soiſſons; which county the king of England gave again, and preſented to the lord de Coucy, who releaſed it for four thouſand livres a-year annual rent. Thus were theſe agreements and covenants finiſhed.

The earl Peter d'Alençon had, through the good will of the king of England, returned alſo to France, where he remained ſo long, and made ſo many excuſes, that he never went back to reſume his duty as hoſtage: but, I believe, at laſt he paid thirty thouſand francs, to acquit his faith and oath.

Before this time, a fortunate circumſtance happened to duke Louis de Bourbon, who was one of the hoſtages in England. By favor of the king of England, he had returned to France; and while he

was

was at Paris with his brother-in-law king Charles, it chanced that the biſhop of Wincheſter, chancellor of England, died. There was at that time a prieſt in England of the name of William of Wykeham: this William was ſo high in the king's grace that nothing was done, in any reſpect whatever, without his advice. When the chancellorſhip and biſhoprick thus became vacant, the king of England immediately wrote to the duke of Bourbon, at the requeſt and prayer of the ſaid William, to beg of him, through the affection he had for him, to go to the holy father Urban, and prevail on him to grant the vacant biſhoprick of Wincheſter to his chaplain; and that, in return, he would be very courteous to him as to his ranſom.

When the duke of Bourbon received the meſſengers with the letters from the king of England, he was much pleaſed, and explained to the king of France what the king of England and ſir William wanted him to do. The king adviſed him to go to the pope. The duke therefore, with his attendants, immediately ſet out and travelled until they came to Avignon, where pope Urban reſided, for he had not as yet ſet out for Rome. The duke made his requeſt to the holy father, who directly granted it, and gave to him the biſhoprick of Wincheſter, to diſpoſe of as he ſhould pleaſe; and if he found the king of England courteous and liberal as to his ranſom, he was very willing that Wykeham ſhould have this biſhoprick.

The duke upon this returned to France, and afterwards to England, where he entered into a

treaty

treaty with the king and his council for his ranſom, ſhewing at the ſame time his bulls from the pope. The king, who loved Wykeham very much, did whatever he deſired. The duke had his liberty, on paying twenty thouſand francs; and ſir * William Wykeham was made biſhop of Wincheſter and chancellor of England.

In this manner, the French lords who were hoſtages in England obtained their liberty. We will now return to the war in Gaſcony, which firſt broke out on account of the appeal that has been already ſpoken of.

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* 'The cuſtom of prefixing the addition of Sir to the Chriſtian name of a clergyman was formerly uſual in this country. Fuller, in his church-hiſtory, book vi. enumerates ſeven chauntries, part of a much larger number, in the old cathedral of St. Paul, in the time of king Edward VI. with the names of the then incumbents, moſt of whom have the addition of ſir; upon which he remarks, and give this reaſon why there were formerly more ſirs than knights: ſuch prieſts as have the addition of ſir before their Chriſtian name were men not graduated in the univerſity, being in orders, but not in degrees; whilſt others, entitled Maſters, had commenced in the arts. This ancient uſage is alluded to in the following humorous catch:

'Now I am married, Sir John I'll not curſe:
He join'd us together for better for worſe.
But if I were ſingle, I do tell you plain,
I'd be well advis'd, ere I married again.'

Sir John Hawkins' Hiſt. of Muſic, vol. ii. p. 518.

CHAP. CCXLVIII.

THE EARL OF PERIGORD *, THE VISCOUNT OF CARMAING AND OTHER BARONS OF GASCONY DEFEAT THE HIGH STEWARD OF ROUERGUE.

YOU have heard how much the prince of Wales was offended by the ſummons, which had been ſerved on him to appear at the court of the parliament in Paris. It was fully his intention to perform the anſwer he had given to the commiſſioners from the king, namely, that in the courſe of the ſummer he would come and take his ſeat, and perſonally appear at the feaſt of the lendit †. He therefore ſent orders to thoſe captains of Engliſh and Gaſcon companies who were attached to him, and in quar-

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* The earls of Carmaing have ſince taken the name of Foix, by an alliance with an heireſs of this name, who brought to them the county of Foix, in the fourteenth century.

The earls of Perigord bear to this day the ſame name; they are likewiſe known under thoſe of prince of Chalais, earls of Perigord, or earls of Taleyran, which is the primitive name of their houſe. M. de Taleyran de Perigord was biſhop of Autun, of which office he diveſted himſelf, when, in the courſe of the revolutionary furor, epiſcopacy became unpopular, and is now miniſter for foreign affairs to the republic of France, 1803.

† Lendit,—a great fair kept (in a field near St. Denis) from the ſecond Wedneſday in June until Midſummer eve, —whence

Lendits,—gate-money, fairings, or yearly preſents beſtowed by the ſcholars of the univerſity, eſpecially thoſe of Paris on their tutors.—COTGRAVE.

ters

ters upon the banks of the Loire, not to march to any great diſtance from that river, for he ſhould ſhortly have occaſion for them, and would find them employment. The greater part of theſe companies were much rejoiced at the news.

The prince would not have failed in his intentions, but that his illneſs and the ſwelling daily increaſed (which had been cauſed by his expedition into Spain): ſo that his attendants were very much alarmed at it, for he could not at this moment mount his horſe.

The king of France had received accurate information of all this, and had been furniſhed with the ſtatement of his caſe drawn up in writing; from which the phyſicians and ſurgeons of France judged that he had a confirmed dropſy, and declared him unable ever to recover.

As ſoon as the capture of ſir Caponnel de Caponnal and the man of law was publicly known, who, as it has been before ſaid, were arreſted by ſir William le Moine, and carried priſoners to Agen, the earl of Comminges, the earl of Perigord, the viſcount of Carmaing, ſir Bertrand Taude, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Pincornet, and many more knights and ſquires who reſided on their eſtates and lordſhips, were very much offended at this meaſure; ſince for them, and upon their account, had they undertaken this commiſſion. They determined to have revenge for this violence, and to begin the war in their own country, by making priſoners ſome of thoſe attached to the party of the prince. They had information that ſir Thomas Wake was

on his road to Rhodez, to examine the ſtrength of the caſtle; that he was at Villeneuve d'Agénois, from whence he was to be eſcorted by only ſixty lances.

When theſe knights heard this news, they were in high ſpirits, and reſolved to lay an ambuſcade for ſir Thomas, conſiſting of three hundred lances; ſo that about two leagues from Montauban, as the high ſteward was continuing his route with ſixty lances and two hundred archers, they were attacked by this large ambuſcade of Gaſcons. The Engliſh were very much ſurpriſed; for they, not ſuſpecting ſuch an attack, were quite unprepared for it: however, they began to exert themſelves ſtoutly in ſelf-defence; but the Gaſcons, who had formed their plan at leiſure, were too many for them, and at the firſt ſhock numbers were diſmounted: the Engliſh, not being able to reſiſt the violence of the Gaſcons of Perigord, Comminges and Carmaing, were thrown into diſorder, and, being defeated without much reſiſtance, turned their backs. Many were taken and ſlain. Sir Thomas was obliged himſelf to fly, otherwiſe he would have been made priſoner; and he owed his ſafety to the fleetneſs of his horſe, which carried him to Montauban. The Gaſcons and others returned to their own country, carrying with them their priſoners and booty.

News was very ſoon brought to the prince of Wales, who at that time reſided at Angoulême, how his high ſteward of Rouergue had been defeated by the earl of Perigord, and by thoſe other noblemen who had ſummoned him by appeal to

the

the chamber of peers at Paris. Much enraged was the prince, when it was told him: he ſaid, he would have a ſevere and early revenge for this, upon the perſons and lordſhips where this outrage had been committed. He wrote directly to ſir John Chandos, who had retired to his eſtate at St. Sauveur le Vicomte in Coutantin, ordering him to come to him, without delay, as ſoon as he ſhould have received his letter.

Sir John Chandos, deſirous of obeying the prince, made all poſſible haſte, and came to Angoulême to the prince, who received him with great joy. Soon after, the prince ſent him to Montauban, with a large body of men at arms and archers, to make war upon the Gaſcons and French, who were every day increaſing in numbers, making incurſions upon the territories of the prince.

Sir Thomas Wake collected his ſcattered men as well as he could, and went to Rhodez, which he amply reinforced and re-victualled, as well as the caſtle of Milhaud upon the confines of Montpellier; and in every place he put men at arms and archers.

Sir John Chandos made the town of Montauban his head-quarters, and gallantly defended the frontiers againſt the Gaſcons and French, with the other knights whom the prince of Wales had ſent thither; ſuch as, the captal de Buch, the two brothers de Pommiers, ſir John and ſir Helie, the ſouldich de l'Eſtrade, the lord of Partenay, the lord of Pons, ſir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Pinaine, the lord de Tannaybouton and ſir Richard de

Pontchardon. Theſe knights, with their companies, made frequent attacks upon the forces of the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord and Comminges, the viſcounts of Carmaing and of Tharide, the lord de la Barde, and ſeveral other barons and knights of the ſame connection, who, with their companies, were upon this frontier. Sometimes one ſide was victorious, ſometimes the other, as in war ſuch things commonly happen.

The duke of Anjou remained very quiet, and made not the ſmalleſt movement, notwithſtanding the rumours he heard; for the king of France had ſtrictly ordered him not to make war upon the prince of Wales, nor on his ſubjects, until he ſhould receive from him poſitive orders for ſo doing.

CHAP. CCXLIX.

THE KING OF FRANCE GAINS OVER SEVERAL CAPTAINS OF THE FREE COMPANIES.—HE SENDS HIS DEFIANCE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

THE king of France, all this time was ſecretly and ably gaining over ſeveral of the captains of the free companies, and others attached to the party of the Engliſh, who had aſcended the river Loire, and were on the confines of Berry and Auvergne, where the king of France had given his permiſſion for them to reſide. Not one of the companies of France was in motion; for the king did not wiſh that

that his name ſhould yet be made uſe of in this war, leſt it might do his affairs harm, and leſt he ſhould loſe the county of Ponthieu, which he was very anxious to regain.

Had the king of England perceived that the king of France intended war, he would eaſily have prevented the loſs of Ponthieu by reinforcing the garriſons of Abbeville with Engliſh, and others attached to him; ſo that he would have been maſter of the whole country; and in the like manner would he have done to all the other garriſons dependant on that county.

The king of England had at this time, for high ſteward of Ponthieu, a good Engliſh knight called ſir Nicholas Louvain, in whom the king had great confidence, and with juſtice; for, ſooner than commit any cowardly or unworthy deed, he would have had his limbs torn from him.

At this period, the king of France ſent to England the earl of Saltzburg and ſir William des Dormans, to remonſtrate with the king and his council, and to complain that part of the country of France had been, and ſtill was, much haraſſed, as well by the daily incurſions of the free companies, who had for theſe laſt ſix years made war upon France, as by other oppreſſors, of which the king of France and his council had had information, and were very ill ſatisfied that the king of England and his eldeſt ſon the prince of Wales ſhould act in ſuch a manner as to countenance them.

Theſe two perſonages remained in England for the ſpace of two months: and during this time,

they propoſed various agreements and reaſons to the king, which made him frequently out of humour and in a paſſion; but they did not pay much attention to this, for they had received inſtructions from the king of France and his council how to act and what to ſay.

When the king of France had received ſuch information as he could depend on, that the inhabitants of Abbeville were in their hearts Frenchmen; that the war was begun in Gaſcony; that all the men at arms in the kingdom of France were prepared, and eager to wage war upon the prince of Wales and to enter his territories; he was anxious that no reproach might be caſt on him, either at the preſent moment, or in times to come, for having ordered an army into the territories of the king of England, or the prince of Wales, to take cities, caſtles, towns or fortreſſes, without having ſent them a challenge: he therefore reſolved to defy the king of England; which he did by ſealed letters. One of his valets, who was from Brittany, carried them. He met at Dover the earl of Saltzburg and ſir William des Dormans, who were returning from England to France, having accompliſhed the buſineſs they had been ſent on. The Breton, according to the orders he had received, told them what he was going about; which they no ſooner heard than they ſet off as quickly as poſſible, and croſſed the ſea. They were very happy when they found themſelves in the town and fortreſs of Boulogne.

About

About this time, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle, marſhal of Acquitaine, had been ſent by the prince of Wales to pope Urban V. at Rome, on affairs relating to Acquitaine. He had found the pope very polite in complying with the requeſts he had to make to him. On his return, he firſt heard the news of war being made on the prince, and that the French had entered the principality. He was very much ſurpriſed at this, and dubious how he ſhould be able to continue his journey. He went, however, to the gallant earl of Savoy, whom he found at the town of Pignerol, in Piedmont, engaged in war with the marquis de Saluces.

The earl of Savoy received ſir Guiſcard and his company with great pleaſure: he entertained them for two days with much magnificence, and preſented them with handſome gifts, particularly ſir Guiſcard, who had the larger ſhare; for the gallant earl reſpected him greatly, on account of his hardy knighthood.

When ſir Guiſcard and his companions had left the earl of Savoy, the nearer they approached the boundaries of France and Burgundy the worſe news they heard, and more diſagreeable to their feelings. Sir Guiſcard, having well conſidered all the information he could gain, ſaw that it would be impoſſible for him to return to Guyenne in the ſtate he travelled. He therefore delayed as much as he could, and gave the command of his whole array and attendants to a knight called ſir John Shore, who had married his daughter. Sir John came from Brittany, and ſpoke very good French: he took

took the command of all the attendants and baggage of his father-in-law: when coming to the eſtate of the lord of Beaujeu, he croſſed the river Soane, and became ſo well acquainted with the lord of Beaujeu that he conducted him and his whole company to Rion in Auvergne, to the duke of Berry: he there offered to become a true Frenchman, provided he were ſuffered to return peaceably to his houſe in Britanny, as it had before been ſettled between him and the lord of Beaujeu.

In the mean time, ſir Guiſcard, under the diſguiſe of a poor chaplain, ill mounted and badly equipped, paſſed through France, Burgundy and Auvergne, and with great difficulty entered the principality. On his arrival at Angoulême, he was heartily received by the prince of Wales.

Another knight, whoſe name was ſir William de Sens, who had accompanied him on this embaſſy to Rome, took refuge in the abbey of Clugny in Burgundy, from whence he never ſtirred for five years, and at laſt turned Frenchman.

We will now return to the Breton who was the bearer of the challenge from Charles king of France to Edward king of England,

CHAP.

CHAP. CCL.

CHALLENGES FROM FRANCE ARE DELIVERED TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE EARL DE ST. POL AND THE LORD DE CHATILLON CONQUER THE COUNTY OF PONTHIEU.

THE valet before mentioned made haſte to London, as he had heard the king of England and his council were aſſembled at the palace of Weſtminſter. The king had for ſome time held various councils upon the ſtate of the prince's affairs, who was at war with the barons and knights of Gaſcony, to examine into the beſt means of aſſiſting him, and to conſider whom he ſhould ſend from England to the prince's aid. He ſoon heard other news, which troubled him more than before; for the valet who was the bearer of theſe letters managed ſo as to enter the chamber where the king and his council were ſitting. He ſaid he was a valet belonging to the houſehold of the king of France, and had been ſent by that king with letters addreſſed to the king of England, but was ignorant what were their contents, nor did it belong to him to know. He preſented them on his knees to the king; who, being deſirous to know what might be their ſubject, ordered them to be taken, opened and read. The king and all thoſe with him were much ſurpriſed when they had heard the challenge they contained.

They examined them very carefully every way, as well as the ſeal, and clearly ſaw that the challenge was good. They ordered the valet to withdraw, telling him he had done his buſineſs well, and that he

he might boldly ſet out on his return, for he would not meet with any obſtacle to his ſo doing, as indeed he did not: he therefore went back to France as ſpeedily as poſſible.

The earl dauphin of Auvergne, the earl of Porcien, the lord de Maulevrier, and ſeveral others as this time in England, as hoſtages for the king of France, were in the greateſt anxiety on hearing the above intelligence; for they were doubtful of the intentions of the king of England and his council, and what they meant to do to them.

It is proper to be known that the king and his council were greatly offended that this challenge ſhould have been brought by a valet: they ſaid it was not decent that a war between two ſuch great lords as the kings of France and of England ſhould be announced and declared by a common ſervant; that it would not have been unworthy of a prelate, or of a valiant baron or knight, to have been the bearer of ſuch a declaration: however, nothing more was done.

In this council, the king was adviſed to ſend directly reinforcements of men at arms to Ponthieu, to guard that country, more particularly to Abbeville, which ran much riſk of being taken. The king approved of this, and ordered the lord Percy, the lord Neville, the lord Carbeſtone* and ſir William Windſor on this buſineſs, with three hundred men at arms and one thouſand archers.

* Barnes ſays, lord Henry Percy, lord William Neville and lord William Windſor, and *one* lord more, but does not name him.

While theſe lords were making their preparations, and were already as far advanced on their road as Dover, to croſs the ſea, other news was brought which did not pleaſe them much. For as ſoon as the earl Guy de St. Pol and ſir Hugh de Châtillon, who was at that time maſter of the croſs-bows of France, could ſuppoſe that the king of England had received the defiance, they advanced towards Ponthieu, having before ſent privately their ſummons to the knights and ſquires of Hainault, Artois, Cambreſis, Vermandois, Vimeu and Picardy; ſo that their whole force amounted to not leſs than a hundred and twenty lances, with which they appeared before Abbeville. The gates were immediately opened, as had before been privately concerted; and theſe men at arms entered the town without doing any harm to the inhabitants.

Sir Hugh de Châtillon, who was the leader of this expedition, marched to that part of the town where he thought he ſhould find the high ſteward of Ponthieu, ſir Nicholas Louvain, and exerted himſelf ſo effectually as to make him his priſoner, as well as a very rich clerk and valiant man who was treaſurer of Ponthieu. The French made this day many a good and rich priſoner; for the Engliſh loſt every thing they had in the town.

On the ſame day, the French advanced to St. Valery, which they took by ſtorm; they did the ſame to Crotoy *, as well as to the town of Derne † upon the ſea.

* Crotoy,—a town oppoſite to St. Valery, on the Somme.

† Derne. No ſuch place. Q. if not Rue, which is a ſmall town on the coaſt, two miles from St. Valery.

Shortly

Shortly after, the earl of St. Pol went to Pont de St. Remy on the Somme, where ſome Engliſh were collected. The earl ordered them to be attacked. There was a grand ſkirmiſh, with many valorous deeds of arms. His eldeſt ſon, Galeran, was created a knight, and did honor to his new knighthood. The Engliſh were ſo roughly handled, that they were either ſlain or made priſoners, and the bridge and fort conquered by the French. In ſhort, the whole territory and county of Ponthieu were freed from the Engliſh, ſo that none remained who could any way do miſchief.

News was brought to the king of England, who was at London, how thoſe of Ponthieu had deſerted him, and turned to the French. The king was much enraged at this, and at firſt had intentions of ſeverely retaliating upon thoſe of the hoſtages who were ſtill in London; but he thought it would be cruel to make them anſwerable for his ill fortune. Nevertheleſs, he ſent all the citizens who had been given as hoſtages from the cities and principal towns of France, to other towns, caſtles and forts in his kingdom, and did not allow them the ſame liberty they had before enjoyed. He ranſomed the earl dauphin d'Auvergne for thirty thouſand francs, and the earl of Porcien for ten thouſand. The lord de Roye, however, remained in priſon, in great peril; for, as he was not in any favour at the court of England, he was obliged to endure much ill treatment, until delivered by accident and great good fortune, as you will hear in the continuance of this hiſtory.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCLI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS A LARGE BODY OE MEN AT ARMS TO THE BORDERS OF SCOTLAND.—THE DUKES OF BERRY AND OF ANJOU ISSUE THEIR ORDERS FOR THEIR VASSALS TO ATTACK THE PRINCE OF WALES.

WHEN the king of England thus ſaw himſelf defied by the king of France; the county of Ponthieu loſt, after having coſt him ſuch ſums in the reparation of towns, caſtles and houſes (for he had expended one hundred thouſand francs in addition to the revenues he drew from it); he was in a mighty paſſion. He had, however, more fears of a war from Scotland than from France: he knew the Scots did not love him, for the great miſchiefs he had done them in former times.

He therefore ſent large detachments of men at arms to Berwick, Roxburgh, Newcaſtle upon Tyne, and to the whole border, to guard it. He alſo ordered detachments to Southampton, Guernſey, and to the iſland of Bliſſo *; for he had procured information that the king of France was making great preparations, and collecting a number of ſhips, in order to invade England. He did not know what part to guard the moſt; and, to ſpeak truth, the Engliſh were very much alarmed.

As ſoon as the dukes of Berry and of Anjou were certain that the challenge had been delivered,

* Bliſſo. Q. Iſle of Wight.

and

and war declared, being unwilling to remain idle, they iſſued their ſpecial orders; one in Auvergne, the other at Toulouſe; for their vaſſals to enter the principality. The duke of Berry had under his command all the barons of Auvergne, of the biſhopricks of Lyons and Mâcon, the lords de Beaujeu, de Villars, de Tournon, ſir Godfrey de Boulogne, his brother-in-law ſir John d'Armagnac, ſir John de Villemur, the lords de Montagu and de Talencon, ſir Hugh Dauphin, the lord de Rochefort and ſeveral more. Theſe men at arms immediately advanced to Touraine, and to the borders of Berry, from whence they carried the war into the fine country of Poitou; but they found it well filled with knights and ſquires, who did not permit them to gain much advantage.

Sir Louis de St. Julian, ſir William des Bourdes, and Carnet le Breton, were at that time in garriſon in the French caſtles of Touraine. Theſe three were great captains, brothers in arms: they performed many gallant deeds, and did much harm to the Engliſh, as will hereafter be more fully related.

CHAP. CCLII.

SEVERAL CAPTAINS OF COMPANIES SIDE WITH DIFFERENT PARTIES.—THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE AND THE EARL OF PEMBROKE TO THE ASSISTANCE OF HIS SON THE PRINCE OF WALES.—THEY PASS THROUGH BRITTANY.

THE duke of Lancaſter poſſeſſed, as part of his inheritance in Champagne, a caſtle, ſituated between Troyes and Châlons, called Beaufort; of which an Engliſh ſquire, named the Pourſuivant d'Amour *, was the captain. When this ſquire per-

* Pourſuivant d'Amour, was a title that knights and ſquires gave themſelves, on account of their wearing the portrait or colours of their miſtreſſes, and challenging each other to fight in honor of their ladies.

Barnes calls him Percival Damorie, but I do not ſee on what foundation: it ſeems to me to be a corruption of Pourſuivant d'Amour.

'The duke of Lancaſter at this ſame time loſt his caſtle of Beaufort, between Troyes and Châlons. He had intruſted this place to the guard of Evan of Wales. This Evan was called le Pourſuivant d'Amour. He was the ſon of Edmund, the laſt of the ancient ſovereigns of Wales, who had been beheaded by Edward. He had been brought up at the court of Philip de Valois, as page of honor to his chamber, and made his firſt campaign under king John. At the peace, the duke of Lancaſter, who was probably ignorant of his birth, made him governor of his caſtle of Beaufort. Being naturally an enemy to the Engliſh, he eagerly ſeized this opportunity of revenging himſelf for the ancient injuries of his houſe. The king of France accepted his offers of ſervice,

perceived that the war was renewed between the kings of France and England, he turned to the king of France, and ſwore to him faith and loyalty from this time forth, as a good Frenchman. The king for this enriched him greatly, and left this caſtle under his care, in conjunction with another ſquire of Champagne called Yvain.

The pourſuivant and Yvain were great friends. They performed many feats of arms againſt the Engliſh, and againſt their partiſans.

The canon de Robeſart, who had before been a loyal and good Frenchman, on the renewal of the war turned to the Engliſh, and became the liege man of the king of England, who was well ſatisfied with his ſervices.

In this manner, ſeveral knights and ſquires changed their party. The duke of Anjou had been ſo active among the free companies of Gaſcony that ſir Perducas d'Albret, le petit Mechin, le bourg de Breteuil, Aimemon d'Ortigue, Perrot de Savoye, Jacquet de Bray and Naudon de Pans, turned Frenchmen; which much diſpleaſed the En-

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and gave him the command of ſome ſhips, with which he made incurſions on the Engliſh coaſts.'

Hiſt. de France, par Villaret, tome v. p. 396.

There muſt be ſome miſtake in the preceding account from Villaret, for Wales was finally conquered by Edward I. in 1283, by the defeat of Llewelin, and the diſgraceful manner in which Edward murdered his brother David. The ſurrender of the caſtle of Beaufort happened nearly one hundred years afterwards, ſo that Evan could not have been a ſon of one of our laſt ſovereigns.

liſh,

gliſh, as their forces were greatly weakened by it. Naudon de Bagerant, le bourg de l'Eſparre and le bourg Camus, remained ſteady to the Engliſh; as well as the moſt approved captains among them, ſuch as ſir Robert Briquet, Robert Thin, John Treſnelle, Gaillard de Motte and Aimery de Rochechouart.

Theſe companies of Engliſh and Gaſcons, with their followers, fixed their quarters in the biſhoprick of Mans in lower Normandy; where they took a town called Vire *, and deſtroyed and ruined all the neighbouring country. Thus theſe free companies changed their ſides; but all of them were engaged for the French or Engliſh.

The king of England determined to ſend his ſon, Edmund of Langley earl of Cambridge, and his ſon-in-law, John Haſtings earl of Pembroke, to the aſſiſtance of the prince of Wales in the duchy of Acquitaine, with the command of a body of men at arms and croſs bowmen. He alſo named ſuch as he thought right to ſend with them: and in the number were, the lord Braddeſton †, ſir Bryan Stapleton, ſir John Trivet, ſir Thomas Banaſter and divers others. They embarked as ſpeedily as they could, and put to ſea, having with them four hundred men at arms and as many archers. They ſteered their courſe for Brittany; and, having a wind to their wiſh,

* Vire,—a town in Normandy, on the river Vire, dioceſe of Bayeux.

† In Froiſſart, it is 'le ſire de Tarbeſtonne,' which I think muſt be Braddeſton. See Dugdale's Baronage.

they landed at the port of St. Malo. When John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, was informed of their arrival, he was much rejoiced, and immediately ſent ſome of his knights to receive and entertain them; namely, ſir John de Laigniguay and ſir John Auguſtin. The earls of Cambridge and Pembroke were well pleaſed on ſeeing theſe knights: but they were not perfectly aſſured if the barons and principal towns in Brittany would permit them to paſs through the country, in their way to Poitou. The Engliſh lords, therefore, made this their requeſt to the duke and to the country.

The duke, being very partial to the Engliſh, complied directly with their wiſhes, and acted ſo efficaciouſly with the barons and principal towns that it was agreed they ſhould paſs through the country in a peaceable manner, upon paying for whatever they might have occaſion to uſe: to which terms the Engliſh joyfully aſſented.

The earls of Cambridge and Pembroke prepared to march with their army to join thoſe free companies who were in the province of Maine, at Château Gontier* and at Vire; where they had deſtroyed and pillaged the whole country; declaring their intentions to advance farther into the interior of the kingdom.

The Bretons entered into treaty with them; and it was agreed that they ſhould have liberty to paſs through that country, by croſſing the river Loire at

* Château Gontier,—a town in Anjou, dioceſe of Angers.

the bridge of Nantes, engaging not to do any miſchief on their march.

At this time, ſir Hugh Calverley was on the borders of Arragon, with a large body of the free companies, who had lately quitted Spain. As ſoon as he heard that the French were making war upon the prince, he ſet off with all the men at arms of of the companies, paſſed through Arragon and Foix, entered Bigorre, and haſtened until he came to the prince, who at that time held his court in the city of Angoulême.

When the prince ſaw him arrive, he gave him a handſome reception, and thanked him much for the aſſiſtance he had brought. He prevailed with him to be his gueſt until the companies which had left Normandy (having firſt ſold thoſe fortreſſes which they held there) were come; for the Bretons allowed them to paſs through their country, provided they behaved themſelves well. As ſoon as they were arrived at Angoulême and in that neighbourhood, the prince appointed ſir Hugh Calverley to be their captain. They were in the whole, including thoſe who had come with him from Arragon, two thouſand fighting men.

The prince immediately ordered them to march to the eſtates of the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret, to burn and deſtroy them. In conſequence of this order, they made a very diſaſtrous war, and did great damages.

CHAP. CCLIII.

THE EARLS OF CAMBRIDGE AND OF PEMBROKE ARRIVE AT ANGOULEME.—THE PRINCE SENDS THEM TO OVERRUN THE COUNTY OF PERIGORD.—SOME ENGLISH ARE DEFEATED NEAR TO LUSIGNAN.

THE earls of Cambridge and Pembroke remained at St. Malo with their troops, as has been before ſaid, until all the free companies of their party had come through the country with the aſſent of the duke of Brittany. When they had ſufficiently recruited themſelves, and had permiſſion to march, they ſet out from St. Malo, and by eaſy days journeys arrived at Nantes, where the duke received theſe lords moſt honourably, and kept them with him for three days, which were ſpent in magnificent feaſts. On the fourth day they croſſed the great river Loire over the bridge at Nantes, and then continued their march until they came to Angoulême, where they found the prince and princeſs.

The prince was much rejoiced at the arrival of his brother the earl of Cambridge and the earl of Pembroke. He inquired after the healths of the king his father, the queen, and his other brothers: to which queſtions he received ſatisfactory anſwers. After they had remained with him three days, and had refreſhed themſelves, the prince ordered them to ſet out from Angoulême, to make an excurſion into the county of Perigord.

The two lords and the knights who had come with them from England inſtantly made preparations

tions to provide themſelves with every thing that might be neceſſary. Having taken leave of the prince, they marched off in grand array. They were, in the whole, full three thouſand combatants: among theſe were ſeveral knights and ſquires from Poitou, Saintonge, Limouſin, Quercy and Rouergue, whom the prince ordered to accompany them.

Theſe lords and men at arms entered hoſtilely the county of Perigord, which they overran, and did much miſchief to it. When they had burnt and deſtroyed the greater part, they laid ſiege to a fortreſs called Bordeilles *, of which two ſquires of Gaſcony were governors: they were brothers, named Ernaldon and Bernardel de Batefol.

There were in this garriſon of Bordeilles, with the two captains, a number of men at arms, whom the earl of Perigord had ſent thither. It was alſo amply provided with artillery, wine, proviſion and every thing elſe that might be neceſſary to hold out for a conſiderable time; and thoſe in garriſon were well inclined to defend it: ſo that during the ſiege of Bordeilles many gallant deeds of arms, many a ſkirmiſh and many an aſſault were daily performed. The two before-mentioned ſquires were bold, proud and enterpriſing: they little loved the Engliſh, and in conſequence advanced frequently to their barriers to ſkirmiſh with them. Sometimes one ſide conquered, ſometimes the other, as it happens in ſuch adventures and deeds of arms.

* Bordeilles,—a town in Perigord, dioceſe of Perigueux.

On the other hand, there were full one thouſand combatants, French, Burgundians, Bretons, Picards, Normans and Angevins, in Poitou, and on the borders of Anjou and Touraine, who were overrunning the lands of the prince of Wales, and daily committing great devaſtations. The leaders of theſe men at arms were, ſir John de Bueil, ſir William des Bourdes, ſir Louis de St. Julian and Carnet le Breton.

In order to oppoſe this force, ſome knights and ſquires of the prince, in particular ſir Simon Burley and the earl of Angus, were quartered on the borders of Poitou and Saintonge; but they were ſcarcely a fourth part of the ſtrength of the French.

Whenever the French made any excurſions, they amounted always to a thouſand fighting men: whereas the Engliſh were never more, at the utmoſt, than two or three hundred; for the prince had ſent off three very large detachments,—one to Montauban, of five hundred men at arms, under ſir John Chandos, to ravage the lands of the earl d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albret,—another of conſiderable numbers, under ſir Hugh Calverley,—and the largeſt diviſion under the command of his brother, the earl of Cambridge, before Bordeilles. Notwithſtanding this, thoſe who were in Poitou did not fail to acquit themſelves gallantly, and to do their duty in making excurſions on the lands of France, and in guarding their own. The Engliſh, with their partiſans, have always acted in this manner, and have never refuſed nor dreaded the combat becauſe they were not in greater numbers.

It happened then one day, that the French had gained exact information how the Engliſh had taken the field and were out on an excurſion, which gave them ſuch ſpirits that they collected all their forces, and places themſelves in ambuſcade, to fall upon the Engliſh as they returned from the inroad which they had made between Mirebeau * and Luſignan †. It was on a broken cauſeway that the French, to the amount of five hundred men, commanded by the before-mentioned captains, ſir John de Bueil, ſir William des Bourdes, ſir Louis de St. Julien and Carnet le Breton advanced to attack them. A ſharp engagement enſued, when many were unhorſed; for the Engliſh defended themſelves bravely, and fought gallantly as long as it laſted. Many valorous actions were performed. Sir Simon Burley and the earl of Angus proved themſelves good knights: but in the end they had the diſadvantage for they were only a handful of men when compared with the French. They were therefore defeated, and compelled to fly. The earl ſaved himſelf as well as he could, and gained the caſtle of Luſignan; but ſir Simon Burley was ſo cloſely purſued, and ſurrounded on the broken cauſeway near Luſignan, that he was made priſoner by the French: moſt of his people being killed or taken, for very few eſcaped.

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* Mirebeau,—a town in Poitou.

† Luſignan,—a town in Poitou, ſeven leagues from Poitiers.

The

The French returned to their garriſons rejoiced at the iſſue of this adventure, as was alſo the king of France when he heard of it. Not ſo the prince of Wales, who was much vexed, and bitterly lamented the capture of his good knight ſir Simon Burley, whom he loved well, as indeed he had reaſon; for, to ſay the truth, he was a moſt expert man at arms for his time, very courageous, and had always carried himſelf valiantly for his lord the king of England and his country. His companions who had been ſlain or made priſoners on the cauſeway had behaved equally well; for whoſe loſs the prince was in great ſorrow, and much enraged. It is a common ſaying, that one man is worth a hundred, and that a hundred is not worth one man; for, in truth, it happens ſometimes, that by the good conduct and courage of one man a whole country is preſerved, whilſt another perſon may totally ruin and deſtroy it. Thus things frequently fall out.

CHAP. CCLIV.

SIR JOHN CHANDOS TAKES TERRIERES.—THE EARL OF PERIGORD AND MANY OTHER KNIGHTS LAY SIEGE TO REALVILLE* IN QUERCY.

AFTER this defeat, which happened, as has been related, between Mirebeau and Luſignan, the Engliſh and Poitevins, when they made any excur-

* Réalville,—a town of Quercy, on the river Aveyron, about two leagues from Montauban.

ſions,

ſions, acted with greater prudence and kept more together.

We will now ſpeak of ſir John Chandos, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle *, and others who were in Montauban, ſeven leagues diſtant from Toulouſe, and who made frequent ſallies from that place very much to their honor. However, whilſt they were there, they thought they could employ their time more profitably than in guarding the frontiers, and in conſequence determined to lay ſiege to Terrieres in the Toulouſain. They made therefore every neceſſary preparation, and, marching from Montauban in grand array, came to Terrieres. The whole army being arrived, it was ſurrounded cloſely; for they depended on gaining it by means of mines, as it could not eaſily be taken by aſſault.

Their miners were ſet to work, who laboured ſo well that at the end of fifteen days they took the town: all who were in it were killed, and the place pillaged and deſtroyed.

In this excurſion, they had intended to take another town, three leagues from Toulouſe, called Laval, and had placed an ambuſcade in a wood near that place. They advanced with about forty men, armed, but dreſſed in peaſants' clothes. They were, however, diſappointed by a country boy, who, following their footſteps, diſcovered their intentions;

* Sir Guiſcard d'Angle was created a peer, by the title of earl of Huntingdon, 1ſt Ric. II. He was alſo a knight of the Garter, which he received for having been inſtrumental to the marriage of the duke of Lancaſter with a daughter of don Pedro of Caſtille.

by

by which means they failed, and returned to Montauban.

The earl of Perigord, the earl de Comminges, the earl de L'iſle, the viſcount de Carmaing, the viſcount de Brunikel, the viſcount de Talar, the viſcount de Murendon, the viſcount de Lauſtre, ſir Bertrand de Thariде, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Pincornet, ſir Perducas d'Albret, the little Mechin, the bourg de Breteuil, Aimemon d'Ortige, Jacquet de Bray, Perrot de Savoye and Arnaudon de Pans, took the field about this period. There were among theſe free companies full ten thouſand fighting men. By orders from the duke of Anjou, who at that time reſided in Toulouſe, they entered Quercy in great force, where they brought on much tribulation by burning and deſtroying the whole country. They advanced to Réalville, wherein they beſieged the high ſteward of Quercy, who had before provided it with every thing neceſſary for the defence of a town, and with good Engliſh ſoldiers, who had reſolved never to ſurrender but with their lives: notwithſtanding the inhabitants were well inclined to the French.

During the time theſe knights and barons of France were beſieging this town, they ſent to Toulouſe for four great engines, which were immediately brought thither. They were pointed againſt the walls of Réalville, into which they flung night and day large ſtones and pieces of timber that did much miſchief, and weakened it. They had alſo miners with them, whom they ſet to work, and who boaſted that in a ſhort time they would take the

town.

town. The Engliſh, however, behaved like good and brave men, ſupported each other, and in appearance held theſe miners very cheap.

CHAP. CCLV.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF TOULOUSE TURNS THE CITY OF CAHORS AND SEVERAL OTHER TOWNS TO THE PARTY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKES OF GUELDRES AND OF JULIERS SEND DEFIANCES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

WHILST the French men at arms were thus quartering themſelves in Quercy, and upon the borders of Limouſin and Auvergne, the duke of Berry was in another part of this laſt province, where he had a large body of men at arms, under ſir John d'Armagnac, his brother-in-law, the lord John de Villemur, Roger de Beaufort, the lord de Beaujeu, the lords de Villars, de Sergnac, de Calencon, ſir Griffon de Montagu, ſir Hugh Dauphin, and a great many other good knights. They made inroads on the confines of Rouergue, Quercy and Limouſin, and carried ruin and devaſtation wherever they went, for nothing was able to ſtand before them.

By the advice of the duke of Berry, the duke of Anjou ſent the archbiſhop of Toulouſe from that city, during the time theſe armies were overrunning the country, to the city of Cahors, of which place his brother was biſhop. This archbiſhop was a very learned clerk, as well as a valiant man. He preached

ed up this quarrel of the king of France ſo earneſtly, and ſo well, that the city of Cahors turned to the French ſide; and the inhabitants ſwore that from this time forth they would be loyal and faithful ſubjects to the king of France. After this, the archbiſhop continued his journey through the country, preaching every where, with ſuch good ſucceſs, the rights of the king of France, that all the people of thoſe parts embraced his opinions: and upwards of ſixty towns, caſtles and fortreſſes were turned to the king of France, with the aſſiſtance of the army of the duke of Berry; that is to ſay, of ſir John d'Armagnac and the others who were overrunning the country. He cauſed alſo Sigac, Gaignac, Capedonac, and ſeveral other principal towns and ſtrong caſtles to change ſides; for he remonſtrated and preached, that the king of France had a good and clear right in this quarrel, with ſuch effect, that all who heard him were convinced: beſides, naturally in their hearts they were more French than Engliſh, which greatly helped this buſineſs.

In like manner, as the archbiſhop went preaching and remonſtrating on the juſtice of the quarrel of the king of France along the confines of Languedoc, there were in Picardy many prelates and lawyers who were as active in doing the ſame duty, by preaching and converting the people of the cities, large towns and villages. Sir William des Dormans, in particular, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by preaching this quarrel of the king of France from city to city, and from town to town, ſo wiſely and ably that all people liſtened to him willingly; and it was wonder-

wonderful how well he coloured the whole buſineſs through the kingdom by his harangues.

In addition to this, the king of France, moved by devotion and humility, ordered frequent proceſſions of the whole clergy; when he himſelf, as well as the queen, attended without ſtockings, and bare-footed. In this manner, they went praying and ſupplicating God to liſten to them, and to the neceſſities of the kingdom of France, which had been for ſo long a time under tribulation. The king ordered all the ſubjects of his realm to do the ſame, by the advice of the prelates and churchmen.

The king of England acted in a ſimilar manner in his kingdom. There was at that time a biſhop of London * who made ſeveral long and fine ſermons: he demonſtrated and preached in theſe ſermons, that the king of France had moſt unjuſtly renewed the war, and that it was againſt right and reaſon, as he plainly ſhewed in different points and articles. In truth, it was but proper that both kings, ſince they were determined on war, ſhould explain and make clear to their ſubjects the cauſe of the quarrel, that they might underſtand it, and have the better will to aſſiſt their kings; to which purpoſe they were all equally alert in the two kingdoms.

The king of England had ſent to Brabant and Hainault, to learn if he could have any aſſiſtance from either of them, and had frequently, on account of his near connection, requeſted duke Albert, who at that time governed the country for his

* Dr. Simon Tibald, alias Sudbury.—BARNES.

brother,

brother, to allow him to paſs through his territories, or to remain there, if there ſhould be occaſion, and to enter through his country, the kingdom of France, to carry the war into the heart of it.

Duke Albert would willingly have complied with the requeſts of the king of England his uncle, and of queen Philippa his aunt, through the mediation and advice of lord Edward de Gueldres, who was of the king's party, and alſo by means of the duke of Juliers his couſin-german, but he had been already gained, as you will hear. Theſe two were in thoſe times ſtrictly connected, by faith and homage, to the king of England, who had deſired each of them to engage for him as many as a thouſand lances, for which they ſhould be well ſatisfied. On this account, theſe two lords would have been very glad to have had duke Albert in alliance with the king of England. The duke was much tempted to join them by the magnificent preſents which the king offered to make him; which promiſes were frequently repeated by theſe two lords, as well as by other knights whom he ſent over to him, and principally by the lord de Comines *, who chiefly on this account had returned to Hainault, after having reſided ſome time with the king.

But the king of France and his council had gained over the lord John de Verchin, high ſteward

* Lord de Comines. My MSS. have Gommegines. This paſſage ſeems very much confuſed. Lord Berners ſays, in his tranſlation, that the lord de Comines was at the French court, and came away to prevent duke Albert joining the king of England.

of Hainault, who governed the whole country. He was a wiſe man, a valiant knight and a good Frenchman. This high ſteward had ſo much weight, and was ſo greatly beloved by the duke and ducheſs, that he overſet all the expectations of the Engliſh, with the aſſiſtance of the earl of Blois, ſir John de Blois his brother, the lords de Ligny and de Barbançon, and exerted himſelf ſo that duke Albert and the whole country remained neuter, and would not take either ſide, which was the anſwer made by the lady Jane ducheſs of Brabant.

King Charles of France, who was wiſe and artful, had taken the previous meaſures, and ſettled all this buſineſs three years * before. He well knew that he had good friends in Hainault and Brabant, eſpecially among the greater part of the counſellors of the principal noblemen. In order to put a better colour on his war, he had copies made by learned men of different papers relative to the peace, which were ſigned at Calais; in which he ſtated all the facts in his favor, and thoſe articles the king of England and his children had ſworn to maintain, and to which they had ſubmitted by ſealed deeds, with the orders which they ought in conſequence to have given to their ſubjects: in ſhort, all the points and articles which were favorable to him, and condemned the actions of the Engliſh. Theſe papers were made public in the town-halls, and in the pre-

* Three years. Denys Sauvage ſuſpects it ought to be three months, but gives no reaſon for it.

ſence of different noblemen and their counſellors, that they might be fully informed on the ſubject.

On the other hand, the king of England acted in like manner; for he ſent memorials and remonſtrances through Germany, or wherever he expected to gain aſſiſtance. The duke of Gueldres (who was nephew to the king of England, being the ſon of his ſiſter, and thus couſin-german to the children of the king), and the duke of Juliers were at that time true and loyal Engliſhmen: they had been very much affronted by the manner of the king of France ſending his challenge by a ſervant, and rebuked the king for it, highly blaming both him and his council for this unbecoming form of ſending it. They ſaid, that war between ſuch great and renowned lords as the kings of France and of England ſhould have been declared by proper meſſengers, ſuch as dignified prelates, biſhops or abbots. They added, that the French had not followed this uſual mode through pride and preſumption. Theſe lords ſent their challenge to the king of France in a handſome manner, as did ſeveral other knights of Germany. It was their intention immediately to have entered France, and to have done ſuch deeds there as twenty years ſhould not efface: but their ſchemes were broken by means they did not expect, as you will hereafter find recorded in this hiſtory.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCLVI.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, BROTHER TO KING CHARLES V. MARRIES THE DAUGHTER OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS.—THE KING OF ENGLAND ENTERS INTO NEGOCIATIONS WITH THE KING OF NAVARRE.

IT has been before related how much the king of England ſolicited and intrigued, during upwards of five years, the marriage of his ſon, Edmund earl of Cambridge, with the daughter of the earl of Flanders. As the detailed account of the different negociations would be too long, I ſhall briefly paſs them over: but you muſt know that the king of England could not by any means whatever obtain from pope Urban V. a diſpenſation. As this was abſolutely neceſſary, the marriage remained in ſuſpenſe.

The earl of Flanders being ſolicited, on the other hand, by the king of France, for his brother the duke of Burgundy; and ſeeing that the marriage not being likely to take place with England, his daughter ought to marry, as he had not any other children; having alſo learnt that the counteſs of Artois, his mother, was favorable to the duke of Burgundy's ſuit, for it was a grand and well-aſſorted alliance; for theſe reaſons he ſent noble ambaſſadors to England, to treat with the king for an acquittal of his engagements between them.

Theſe ambaſſadors managed the buſineſs ſo ably that the king of England, who always wiſhed to act honorably, aſſented to the earl of Flanders requeſt. They returned, therefore, to Bruges, and related

to the earl their lord what they had done. The earl was much pleaſed at their ſucceſs. It was not long before the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with the heireſs of Flanders was determined on.

There were great treaties, agreements and alliances made between both parties; and it was then told me, that the earl of Flanders, in conſideration of this marriage, received upwards of fifty thouſand crowns *; that the towns of Douay and Liſle were given up to him, on account of the money which the king of France was to give his brother on this marriage. The earl of Flanders took poſſeſſion of theſe towns, put his own ſubjects into them, and they were eſteemed as part of Flanders, on account of the ſums they were pledged for. But I know nothing further.

Soon after theſe arrangements were concluded, they proceeded to the marriage, which was celebrated in the city of Ghent. There were great feaſts at the ſolemnity of the wedding, and afterwards, which were attended by crowds of lords, barons and knights. The gallant lord of Coucy was there, whoſe preſence was ſo acceptable at a feaſt, of which none knew better how to do the honours: it was for this reaſon the king of France had ſent him thither. After they had been magnificently entertained, as well with tournaments as otherwiſe, they ſeparated, and returned to their homes.

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* La Chaux ſays 100,000 crowns.

The king of England, who ſaw that from this marriage the earl of Flanders muſt become the ally of the king of France, was ignorant whether the earl would take part againſt him with the duke of Burgundy his ſon, who of courſe would be his heir to the county of Flanders, and what treaties had been entered into by the earl with the king of France. The king, therefore, was much harder upon the Flemings than before, and haraſſed them by ſea and land, and whenever he found them in his own country with their merchandiſe.

The king of France was not diſpleaſed at this, and would willingly have ſeen a war declared between the Flemings and the Engliſh: but the prudent men of Flanders and the citizens of the principal towns were averſe to it, for the commonalties of Flanders maintained the quarrel between the two kings to be more juſt on the part of England than of France.

King Edward was gaining friends on all ſides, and much need had he of them, from the appearance of the great wars and rebellions that were breaking out in his dominions beyond ſea. He was given to underſtand, that his couſin king Charles of Navarre, who at that time reſided in lower Normandy, would join his party; for he hated the king of France, on account of ſome eſtates which the king of Navarre claimed as his inheritance, and which the king of France denied his right to.

Counſellors on each ſide had frequently met, but they could never come to any agreement. The affair had remained in this ſituation, and each was on his guard. The king of Navarre had amply

provided his towns and caſtles in Coûtantin, in the country of Evreux, as well as his principal towns in Normandy, with all ſorts of ſtores: he had filled Cherbourg, where he reſided, with men at arms.

At this time, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt was with the king of Navarre: he was governor of a town called Carentan *, beyond the fords of St. Clement in Coûtantin, which he held under the king of Navarre, being part of his inheritance: ſir Euſtace was alſo one of his privy counſellors: ſo that the king of England ſent to him (for he was his liege man and knight), to ſound the intentions of the king of Navarre. He found him well inclined, and treated ſo ſucceſsfully that the king of Navarre, with a ſmall retinue, embarked on board a ſhip called the Lynne, and viſited the king of England, who was right glad to ſee him. He entertained him handſomely; and they had many conferences together, in which they underſtood each other ſo well that, on the return of the king of Navarre, he was to declare war againſt the king of France, and to admit Engliſh garriſons into all his caſtles.

After theſe engagements and treaties had been concluded, the king of Navarre returned to Cherbourg in Normandy. He was eſcorted thither by ſome of the knights of the houſehold of the king and queen of England, who were unfortunate as they came back; for they met ſome pirates of Normandy that attacked their veſſels, and, being the

* Carentan,—a town of Normandy, three leagues from the ſea-coaſt, dioceſe of Coûtances.

ſtrongeſt,

ſtrongeſt, overpowered them, and killed every perſon: they gave no quarter to any one.

The king of England was much enraged when he heard this, but he could not poſſibly then remedy it.

Soon after the return of the king of Navarre to Cherbourg, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt (who had been ſent for by the prince of Wales, and whoſe heralds had ſummoned his attendance) took his leave, in order to obey the prince. The king parted with him with much regret, but ſir Euſtace explained his reaſons ſo fully that he allowed him to depart. He embarked with his attendants, and ſailed for St. Malo, where he landed, and then rode to Nantes, in order to paſs the river Loire, with the permiſſion of the duke of Brittany and the inhabitants, who as yet had not taken any part in this war. He continued his journey until he arrived in Poitou, at the town of Angoulême, where the prince received him with great pleaſure, and ſhortly afterwards ſent him to ſir John Chandos and the captal de Buch, who were in Montauban, guarding the frontiers againſt the French. Sir Euſtace, on his arrival, was moſt joyfully greeted by his former companions *.

CHAP.

* From the Fœdera it would appear, that Charles of Navarre ſent two ambaſſadors to England; for there is a paſſport for Peter Terturon, his ſecretary, and one alſo for William Dordane, dated the 6th June, 1370. The king's paſſport is dated the 12th Auguſt 1370, when, I ſuppoſe, he came to England, where he muſt have remained ſome time, for the paſſport for his return is dated the 28th November, 1370. The convention between the two kings is in the Fœ-

CHAP. CCLVII.

THE CONSTABLES OF FRANCE AND OF HAINAULT UNDERTAKE A GRAND EXPEDITION TO ATTACK ARDRES.—THE FORTRESS OF REALVILLE IS TAKEN, AND ALL THE ENGLISH WHO WERE IN IT PUT TO THE SWORD.

THE knights of Picardy, about this period, were preparing a grand expedition of men at arms, with the intention of paying a viſit to thoſe of Ardres *. Sir John Moreau de Fiennes, conſtable of France, and ſir John Werthin, conſtable † of Hainault, were appointed, by order of the king of France, the leaders of it. Their rendezvous was in the good town of St. Omer. They amounted in the whole, to a thouſand lances, knights and ſquires. Theſe men at arms advanced, to ſhew their array, before the fort of Ardres, which was well garriſoned with Engliſh. They encamped there, and gave out that they intended to lay ſiege to it. The Engliſh in Ardres were not alarmed, but made every neceſſary preparation to defend themſelves, if they ſhould be attacked.

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dera, to which I refer for further particulars. The king of Navarre, when returned to Cherbourg, ſent other ambaſſadors to England, as their paſſport in the Fœdera is dated the 1ſt December, 1370.

* Ardres,—a ſtrong town in Picardy, four leagues from Calais. Near this place was held the famous interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I.

† Sir John Werthin, or Verchin, conſtable. He was before ſénéſchal.

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One day theſe lords of France and of Hainault drew out their army to the field in gay ſpirits, and in noble array. It was a fine ſight to behold the banners of theſe lords flying before them, and the gallant muſter they made. They began an attack, but with little advantage; for many were killed and wounded; and nothing gained. According to the information which I then received, I believe it was on the fifth day they left Ardres, without any other action, and each man returned to his own home. Thus was this expedition put an end to.

We will now return to what was going forwards in a diſtant part of the country, and relate the ſiege of Réalville in Quercy by the French. There were upwards of twelve thouſand combatants, all good men at arms; and at two days march were the duke of Berry, ſir John d'Armagnac, ſir John de Villemur, the lord de Beaujeu, and others from Auvergne and Burgundy, in all about three thouſand fighting men, who were ready to advance ſhould there be occaſion.

Sir John Chandos, the captal de Buch, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle, and the others who were guarding the frontiers of Montauban, knew well what was paſſing at Réalville, and what the ſtrength of their own forces in that part of the country conſiſted of. They found they were not ſtrong enough to fight, nor to raiſe the ſiege; for the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, who were beſieging Bourdeilles, would not give up that ſiege.

The French had ſet their miners to work at Réalville, and by their machines, which caſt ſtones,

&c. into it day and night, had haraſſed the garriſon ſo much, they could not ſufficiently watch theſe miners, who ſucceeded in their operations, and flung down a great part of the walls; by which means the town was taken, and all the Engliſh in it were put to death without mercy, which was a pity, for there were among them ſeveral good ſquires. The inhabitants were pardoned, on their promiſing from that time forth to be loyal Frenchmen. The French commanders appointed captains and men at arms to guard it, as well as others to give advice in the article of repairs, or in whatever other buſineſs occaſion might require.

After the conqueſt of Réalville, the army diſperſed itſelf over the countries of Quercy and Rouergue, to get refreſhments and recruit themſelves. The companies went to the city of Cahors and its neighbourhood. Their leaders were, Aimemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, le petit Mechin, Jacques de Bray and Arnaudon de Pans, who deſpoiled the whole country.

The earl of Perigord, the earl de l'Iſle, the earl de Comminges, the viſcount de Carmaing and the other lords returned to their own eſtates; for ſir Hugh Calverley, ſir Robert Briquet, John Treſnelle, Lanut, Naudon de Bagerant, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Eſparre and other captains of theſe free companies were carrying on a deſtructive war there, and had burnt and ravaged the lands of the earl d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albret.

There was at this time, as high ſteward of Rouergue, a very valiant man and good knight, an Engliſh-

Engliſhman, called ſir Thomas Witeval *. He reſided in the town and caſtle of Milhaud †, a day's journey from Montpellier; and notwithſtanding the whole country ſurrounding it had changed ſides, and was conquered, he kept this garriſon upwards of a year and a half, and alſo another fortreſs in Rouergue called Vauclerc. He made many expeditions, and different ſallies much to his honor, until ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin drove him out, as you will hear related anon in the courſe of this hiſtory.

The town and caſtle of Bourdeilles ſtill remained beſieged.

CHAP. CCLVIII.

THE FRENCH TAKE LA ROCHE POSAY ‡.—THE SENESCHAL OF POITOU BURNS AND DESTROYS THE LANDS OF THE LORD DE CHAUVIGNY, AND TAKES BY ASSAULT HIS PRINCIPAL TOWN OF BRUX.

SIR John de Bueil, ſir William des Bourdes, ſir Louis de Saint Julien and Carnet le Breton remained on the frontiers of Poitou, with upwards

* Witeval. Q. if not Whitwell. Barnes calls him ſir Thomas Wake.

† Milhaud, or Millau,—a town in Rouergue, on the river Tarne.

‡ La Roche Poſay,—a town in Touraine, on the Creuſe, noted for its medicinal ſprings.

of

of twelve hundred fighting men, and ſtudied night and day by what means they could take, gain by ſurpriſe or otherwiſe, any towns, caſtles or fortreſſes in Poitou. From theſe meaſures it happened that they took by ſcalado a caſtle called la Roche Poſay, at the entrance of Poitou, on the river Creuſe, two leagues diſtant from la Haye * in Touraine, and tolerably near to Châtelheraut on the ſame river.

The whole country was exceedingly alarmed at this; for the French placed a large garriſon in it, repaired the walls, and amply provided it with all ſorts of proviſion, ammunition and artillery.

When this news was brought to the prince, he was much diſpleaſed; but he could not prevent it. He ſent orders to ſir Guiſcard d'Angle, ſir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Pinane, and ſeveral others who were at Montauban with ſir John Chandos, to return to him directly, as he wanted to employ them in another part of the country.

The aforeſaid lords, in conſequence of this command, left Montauban, and journeyed to Angoulême, where the prince was, who immediately ſent them to Poitiers, to guard that city and defend the frontiers againſt the French.

There had lately turned to the French party a great baron of Poitou, called the lord de Chauvigny, viſcount de Brux. This town had followed his example, which he had filled with Bretons and men

* La Haye,—four leagues from Châtelheraut.

at

at arms: he himſelf had left the country, and gone to France to the king.

The prince and all the barons of Poitou were exaſperated at this defection. The viſcount de Rochechouart was alſo ſuſpected; and the prince, being informed that he was about to change ſides, ſent for him to Angoulême, where he told him what he had heard. The viſcount denied it, and excuſed himſelf as well as he could: notwithſtanding this, he was committed a cloſe priſoner, and remained a conſiderable time in this dangerous ſituation.

Sir James Audley was at this period high ſteward of Poitou, a right ſage and valiant knight. He made preparations for a grand expedition. There were with him ſir G uiſcard d'Anglc, ſir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Pinane, ſir Geoffry d'Argenton, ſir Maubrun de Linieres, the lord de Tannaybouton, ſir William de Montaudire, and many other knights and ſquires of Poitou. They amounted in the whole to twelve hundred lances; and there was alſo with them ſir Baldwin Freville, high ſteward of Saintonge.

Theſe lords made Poitiers their place of rendezvous: from that place they rode in grand array, and advanced until they entered Berry, where they began to burn and deſtroy the country, and to pillage poor people, to whom they did great damage. They then returned to Touraine. Wherever they paſſed, the countries ſuffered moſt exceedingly; for none ventured to oppoſe them, as they were in ſuch force as to be maſters of the country. Theſe men

at

at arms entered the lands of the lord de Chauvigny, whoſe lord had lately turned Frenchman; which they burnt and deſtroyed without hindrance, except the towns and ſtrong holds. They came to his principal town of Brux *, attacked it, and continued the attack a whole day with their men at arms, but gained nothing. They then encamped, and declared they would not thus leave it, for it was to be taken. They roſe at day-break, and, having made every thing ready, ſounded their trumpets for an aſſault. The Poitevins and Engliſh being formed into battalions, each lord with his men under his own banner, they made, on this Saturday, a moſt fierce attack. It laſted ſome time: for there were in the town men at arms, and ſome from the companies, who defended themſelves as well as they could, as they knew their lives depended upon it. Many, therefore, were the gallant deeds of arms performed. The two high ſtewards of Poitou and Saintonge were anxious to gain the town. They made their archers ſhoot ſo quickly that ſcarcely any one dared to appear on the walls to defend it. On this Saturday morning, the town of Brux was ſo vigorouſly attacked, that it was won at laſt, and the gate thrown open for every one to enter it who choſe.

All the men at arms of the viſcount were taken; and the lords of the army had ſixteen of them hanged in their armour, from hatred to the viſcount, who was not in the country, but with the king

* Brux,—a town in Poitou, near Chauvay, dioceſe of Poitiers.

of

of France at Paris. The town was burnt, and the inhabitants loſt their all: there were beſides very many ſlain and drowned. The Engliſh returned to Poitiers with their army, the better to refreſh themſelves.

CHAP. CCLIX.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES IS APPOINTED CAPTAIN OF THE PRINCE'S COMPANY.—HE CAUSES SIR PERDUCAS D'ALBRET TO TURN TO THE ENGLISH.—HE BESIEGES THE FRENCH COMPANIES IN THE FORT OF DURMEL.

SIR Robert Knolles reſided in Brittany, where he had a fine and large eſtate: he had always been a good and loyal Engliſhman, and had ſerved under the king of England, and the prince of Wales his eldeſt ſon, in their different expeditions, by whom he was much loved: having heard that the French were carrying on a diſaſtrous war againſt the prince, and meant to take from him his inheritance of Acquitaine, which he had aſſiſted in gaining for him, he was very much ſurpriſed and diſpleaſed. He therefore reſolved in his own mind to collect as many men at arms as he poſſibly could, and go with them to ſerve the prince of Wales at his own coſt and charges. As he had reſolved, ſo did he execute: he ſent to ſummon all his vaſſals, and to intreat his friends to accompany him. He gathered about ſixty men at arms, with as many archers of his own dependants and friends, and made his preparations

parations for embarking them on board four large veſſels, at a town and ſea-port in Brittany called Conquet *. When all his purveyances had been completed and ſent on board, he ſet out from his caſtle at Derval †, and followed them, when he embarked on board his veſſel, perceiving that his people were already at ſea. He made ſail, and arrived at the quay of la Rochelle, where the inhabitants gave him a grand entertainment, much againſt their inclinations; but they dared not do otherwiſe. He found there ſir John Devreux, who commanded for the prince of Wales, as high ſteward, ſir Thomas Percy being with ſir John Chandos.

Sir John Devreux received ſir Robert Knolles with great joy, and entertained him in the beſt manner he could. Sir Robert remained there two days, to refreſh himſelf and his people. On the third day, he ſet out, taking the road to Angoulême, and continued his journey until he arrived there.

The prince and princeſs were exceedingly pleaſed to ſee ſir Robert, and it ſeemed they could not do enough to ſhow it. The prince appointed him captain of the knights and ſquires of his houſehold, out of love to him, and as a reward for his valour and honor. He ordered them to pay ſir Robert

* Conquet,—a ſea-port, five leagues from Breſt. This name is much disfigured in all my copies, except in the Lamoignon manuſcript.

† Derval,—a village between Nantes and Rennes, thirteen leagues from Nantes.

the

the ſame obedience as to himſelf, which they promiſed willingly to do.

When ſir Robert had remained with the prince about five days, and thoſe who were to accompany him in an expedition were ready, he was informed to what part it was meant that he ſhould lead them: he took his leave of the prince, and ſet out from Angoulême well attended by the prince's knights. There were ſir Richard de Pontchardon, ſir Stephen Coſſington, ſir Dagloiret, ſir Nêle Loring, ſir William Torciel, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir John Trivet, ſir Thomas Deſpenſer, ſir Tancon *, ſir Thomas Banaſter, ſir Nicholas Bond, ſir William le Moine, the high ſteward of the Agénois, ſir Baldwin Freville, and upwards of ſixty knights. They amounted in the whole to about ſixty men at arms, five hundred archers and as many foot ſoldiers, all in high ſpirits eager to meet the French †.

This ſmall army, of which ſir Robert Knolles was the leader, advanced towards Agen, to enter Quercy, where the free companies had quartered themſelves, and continued their march until they came to the city of Agen. They halted there a ſhort time to refreſh themſelves, and to wait for the enemy. Whilſt ſir Robert made this halt at Agen, he learnt

* Tancon. Q. Sir Richard Taunton.—Barnes.

† There ſeems ſome miſtake relative to the number of men at arms; for ſir Robert brought with him ſixty men at arms. We muſt ſuppoſe, that many of the prince's houſehold were at the time of ſir Robert's arrival with ſir John Chandos or ſir James Audley, and, though mentioned by name, were not perhaps preſent.

that ſir Perducas d'Albret (a famed captain of the free companies, who had upwards of three hundred men under his command) was in that part of the country, and that, through the ſolicitations of the duke of Anjou, he had embraced the French ſide. Sir Robert immediately ſent to him a herald, with other meſſengers, who managed ſo well, that he conſented to meet him at an appointed place in the open fields, on the faith of his paſſport.

When ſir Robert met ſir Perducas d'Albret, he feaſted him well, and then by degrees entered upon the buſineſs of his having left the prince. He blamed him very much for having turned Frenchman, and for quitting the ſervice of a prince who loved him ſo much, and who had advanced him to honors. Why ſhould I make a long ſtory of it? Sir Robert argued and talked the matter over ſo ably that ſir Perducas d'Albret changed to the Engliſh party, and went over to them with upwards of five hundred Gaſcons from the free companies. The duke of Anjou was much angered at this when he heard it, and held ſir Perducas cheap for his breach of promiſe, as did all the others who were of the French party, and hated the Engliſh more than ever.

This news was ſoon carried to the city of Cahors, and to the other free companies, who formed a large garriſon there, and had done ſo for a conſiderable time. When their leaders, Aimemon d'Ortige, le petit Mechin, Jacques de Bray, Perrot de Savoye and Arnaudon de Pans, heard that ſir Perducas d'Albret had, with his whole company,

gone

gone over to the Engliſh, they were very much diſheartened and alarmed. Finding that the city of Cahors was of too great an extent for them to hold out againſt the Engliſh, they departed, after having given up the town to the biſhop and the inhabitants. They went to the priory of Durmel, that was not for diſtant, which they had fortified ſome time before, and was not difficult to defend. They entered this place in good order, to wait for their enemies, who came as ſoon as they knew they had retired thither: they ſurrounded it, and made many a gallant attack: but thoſe within, being tried men at arms, and well ſupplied with every thing, made very light of it.

As ſoon as ſir John Chandos, ſir Thomas Felton, the captal de Buch, ſir John de Pommiers, ſir Thomas Percy, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, and the other knights attached to the prince in Montauban, heard that ſir Robert Knolles was beſieging the companies in Durmel, they determined to march to his aſſiſtance; for it ſeemed to them that much glory might be acquired. Upwards of three hundred lances went from Montauban, leaving behind in garriſon full two hundred, under the command of ſir Aimery de Chartres, the ſouldich de l'Eſtrade, ſir Bernardet d'Albreth and the lord de Gironde. They preſſed their march to arrive at the ſiege of Durmel. In their road, they came to a tolerably ſtrong French town, called Moiſſac *. It was only

* Moiſſac,—a town of Quercy, on the Tarne, ſeven leagues from Montauban.

guarded by the townſmen, for there was not a gentleman in it. They ſent their ſcouts to examine the place, who brought information that it was ſufficiently ſtrong, and that without a ſiege they could not well gain it. The leaders immediately called a council, to ſee what was beſt to be done; and they reſolved in this council, that it would be wrong for them to ſtop at this place, which would interfere with their intentions regarding Durmel. They therefore continued their march: it was but early morning: and they had not advanced more than a league from the place before they met four carriers horſes laden with proviſion, who were immediately ſtopped and ſeized. They inquired whence they came, and whither they were going. The carriers truly anſwered, that they had come from Toulouſe, and were going to Moiſſac, with the intent of ſelling their proviſion. They were then queſtioned as to the ſtate of that town, and what was the force within it. The carriers, not daring to tell a lie, ſaid, that the town was much diſtreſſed by a ſcarcity, and they did not believe there were in it proviſions for four days, if they ſhould be beſieged; and that there were no gentlemen in it, nor had it any defenders but the citizens.

The chiefs then called a council, and determined not to march further till they ſhould have conquered this town. They returned, and, keeping the proviſion for themſelves, gave the carriers their horſes, telling them to go ſeek for more. They halted before Moiſſac, and encamped as if they meant to fix their quarters before it for a month:

this

this firſt day they made preparations ſeemingly for an aſſault on the following, and pointed their cannon againſt the walls.

When the inhabitants of Moiſſac ſaw what was going forwards, they were much frightened, knowing they could not long hold out; for they were in great want of all ſorts of proviſion; they opened a treaty with the Engliſh knights, which was ſoon concluded. By it they acknowledged the prince of Wales for their lord, and agreed to hold the town from him for ever, without fraud or treachery. On which they had peace granted, and nothing was taken from them.

Sir John Chandos and the other knights, at the requeſt of the inhabitants, appointed a knight, called ſir Robert Mytton *, governor, with twenty men at arms and forty archers, to be maintained and paid at the expenſe of the town. They then marched to Durmel, where ſir Robert Knolles and his army were.

There was great joy at their arrival, and thus all meeting together again. The new comers united with their former friends in puſhing on the ſiege with vigour.

* Mytton. Barnes calls him Mutton, and quotes 'the true uſe of armoury, in the life of the lord John Chandos,' p. 88.

CHAP. CCLX.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES AND SIR JOHN CHANDOS RAISE THE SIEGE OF DURMEL.—THEY LAY SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF DOMME *.

DURING the ſiege of Durmel, there were many attacks, ſkirmiſhes and gallant feats of arms; for they were good and able men, as well thoſe who beſieged the place as thoſe who defended it. Had they not been ſuch ſkilful ſoldiers, they could not have held out as they did.

The Engliſh and their partiſans who lay before it, did not gain much advantage, for they were overpowered in two ways: it rained night and day, which hurt both men and horſes: added to this, there was ſuch a ſcarcity of proviſion, they had great difficulty in procuring wherewithal to ſatisfy their hunger. A loaf was ſold there for three old groats. They were diſtreſſed to obtain any even at ſuch a price. Of wines, they had a ſufficient quantity, which to them were of the greateſt comfort. In this ſituation, they remained upwards of five weeks. When they perceived that they made no impreſſion, nor were likely to take the garriſon of Durmel, and that they remained there in a very comfortleſs ſtate, they determined to raiſe the ſiege, and to march for the town and caſtle of Domme, which was ſituated in a richer country.

Sir Robert de Domme, the lord of it, was governor of the town and caſtle; and there was with him

* Domme,—a town in Perigord, election of Sarlet, on the Dordogne.

a knight, his couſin, called ſir Peter Sanglet. Theſe two knights had collected large quantities of every thing neceſſary from the low countries, which they had brought into the town.

When the Engliſh and Gaſcons, who were fifteen hundred men at arms, two thouſand archers and foot ſoldiers, arrived at Domme, they drew up in array, to lay ſiege to it, and began a briſk attack on the place. They pointed large machines againſt the walls; and many ſevere ſkirmiſhes and aſſaults were made on each ſide.

After they had beſieged this place for fifteen days, and found they did not gain any advantage, nor were likely to conquer it, but were much ſtraitened themſelves, they determined to inform the prince of Wales of their ſituation, who was at that time at Angoulême. Chandos, the herald, was ordered to carry this meſſage, who immediately ſet out, and journeyed until he came to Angoulême, where he found the prince with very few attendants, for all his knights and ſquires were away on different expeditions.

When the herald, Chandos, was arrived in the preſence of the prince, he dropped on his knees, and recommended to him his maſters who had ſent him, and whom he had left at the ſiege of Domme. He then related their ſituation moſt wiſely, as he had been ordered to do, and gave the credential letters which he had brought to the prince.

The prince liſtened attentively to all that was told him, and ſaid he would conſider this ſubject. He kept the herald with him five days, and, on the

ſixth, he had letters delivered to him under the prince's ſeal, who ſaid to him on his departure, 'Chandos, ſalute from me all our companions.' He replied, 'Moſt willingly, my lord.' When the herald ſet out, he took the road through Quercy. I will now relate what paſſed in the army, and what things they did during the abſence of this herald.

CHAP. CCLXI.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES AND SIR JOHN CHANDOS MARCH FROM DOMME, WITHOUT DOING ANY THING. — THEY TAKE GAVACHES*, ROCHEMADOR† AND SEVERAL OTHER TOWNS WHICH HAD TURNED TO THE PARTY OF THE FRENCH.

SOON after Chandos had left his maſters at the ſiege of Domme, ſir John Chandos, ſir Robert Knolles, ſir Thomas Felton, the captal de Buch, ſir James Audley and the other knights, held a council, and reſolved to break up this ſiege, for they gained nothing, and to make an incurſion more into the country, in order to conquer ſuch towns and garriſons as had lately turned to the French through the means of the duke of Berry and the free companies.

* Gavaches. I cannot find this in the Gazetteer, and ſuſpect it muſt be Gramat, a town in Quercy, election of Figeac, near Peyrac.

† Rochemador, — Roquemadour, — a town in Quercy, election of Figeac, near Peyrac.

They

They decamped, and marched from Domme, taking the road for Gramat, which immediately ſurrendered: the inhabitants turned again to the Engliſh the moment they came before it. The chiefs and the army remained for three days in Gramat, to refreſh themſelves, and during that time conſidered whither they ſhould go next. When they went away, they made for a fortreſs which the companies had newly taken called Frons. As ſoon as the garriſon perceived the Engliſh advancing with ſo great a force, and learnt that thoſe of Gramat had become Engliſh, they alſo changed their ſide, and ſwore that they would be faithful to the Engliſh; but they lied. The Engliſh continued their march, and halted before Roquemadour. The inhabitants had ſtrongly fortified themſelves, not having any inclination to ſurrender.

The Engliſh, having well examined the ſituation of the town of Roquemadour and the countenance of its inhabitants, brought forward their engines and artillery, and began to attack it with great vivacity and vigour. I can ſay, that many and ſharp were the attacks: ſeveral were ſlain and wounded by the arrows from thoſe within and without. This aſſault laſted one whole day.

Towards veſpers, the Engliſh retired to their camp, with the intention of renewing the attack on the morrow: but during the night thoſe of Roquemadour, who the preceding day had ſeverely felt the courage of their opponents, and how hardly they had puſhed them, called a council. The wiſeſt among them ſaid, that in time they muſt ſurrender; and, if they were taken by aſſault, they would all

be

be ſlain, the town burnt without mercy; and that, weighing the bad and good, they adviſed opening an immediate treaty with the Engliſh. This was ſoon concluded. They declared, that from that day forward, they would be true to the Engliſh, which they afterward ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve. They were alſo obliged to ſupply the army with fifty horſe-load of proviſions from the town, during the ſpace of fifteen days, which were to be paid for at a certain fixed price: and thus Roquemadour obtained peace.

The Engliſh continued their march towards Villefranche, in the Toulouſain, burning and deſtroying the flat countries, bringing great calamities on the poor inhabitants, and conquering ſuch towns and caſtles as had changed ſides; ſome by treaty, others by force. They came at length before Villefranche, which was tolerably well incloſed, and provided with proviſion and artillery; for all thoſe of the ſurrounding flat country had retired into it. They commenced the attack, on their arrival, with much intrepidity. During the four days they lay before it, frequent were the aſſaults, and many were killed on both ſides. The garriſon, having reflected on their ſituation, found they could not hold out much longer, and, as there was no appearance of help coming to them, they ſurrendered to the Engliſh, on condition that neither themſelves nor their town ſhould receive any harm. In this manner did Villefranche, on the borders of Toulouſe, become Engliſh; which when told to the duke of Anjou, who was at Toulouſe, grieved him much. Sir John

Chandos appointed governor and captain of Villefranche an Engliſh knight, called ſir Robert le Roux *, and then continued his march, burning and deſtroying the country.

We will now return to the ſiege of Bourdeilles, and relate how the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke perſevered in it.

CHAP. CCLXII.

THE EARLS OF CAMBRIDGE AND OF PEMBROKE CONQUER THE GARRISON OF BOURDEILLES.

WHILST theſe laſt-mentioned barons and knights of England, with their army, were making excurſions and conqueſts in Rouergue, Quercy and the Agénois, where they continued a conſiderable time, the ſiege of Bourdeilles was ſtill going on. It had laſted upwards of nine weeks. All this while, there were daily ſkirmiſhes, attacks and gallant deeds of arms.

The beſieged had a cuſtom of advancing every day with their whole army without the gate, where they ſkirmiſhed valourouſly with all comers, and behaved themſelves ſo gallantly that they acquired great praiſe even from the enemy. The garriſon remained in this ſituation ſome time, and would have continued ſo longer, if pride and preſumption had not tempted them; for they were in ſufficient

* Sir Robert le Roux. Barnes calls him ſir John Roos. Why not ſir Robert Rous?

numbers,

numbers, all tried men, with plenty of proviſion, and artillery to defend themſelves. The beſiegers began to grow weary, notwithſtanding they acted much to their honour, for they conſidered that their expenſes were greater than the conqueſt they were attempting was worth.

After holding a council, to conſider by what means they could the ſooner bring this buſineſs to an end, they determined to arm all their people by four o'clock in the morning, and to keep them in their quarters, ſending a part of them to ſkirmiſh with the garriſon as uſual: for the garriſon were ſo eager for theſe combats, they would frequently march into the open fields to engage in them. The Engliſh ordered their party to make a feint, and to retreat by degrees towards their own army, as if they were defeated, in order to draw them further out, and then a body of cavalry was to ſally forth, and, by getting between them and the town, prevent them from entering it again.

The plan was adopted; for they ſaid, if they could not win the place by this means, they ſhould not eaſily gain it. On the morrow morning they armed themſelves, and ſent two hundred to ſkirmiſh with the garriſon.

When the companies in Bourdeilles, and their captains Ernaudon and Bernardin, ſaw them approach, they were very much rejoiced, and quickly made themſelves and their men ready. There might be about ſeven ſcore young men, active ſoldiers, who, having ordered the gate to be thrown quite open, advanced to their barriers, and met the

Engliſh

Engliſh lances and bucklers very handſomely. They fought ſo well that the Engliſh gave way, and retreated as they had been ordered; which being obſerved, thoſe of the garriſon ordered their ſtandard to be advanced, crying out at the ſame time, 'By St. Anthony's head, we ſhall take them.' On which they attacked them with greater fury as they were flying before them, ſo that ſome were unhorſed, wounded or made priſoners. But becauſe they were ſo eager to gain every thing, and as the proverb ſays, 'All covet, all loſe,' they had advanced ſo far from the town that when they wiſhed to return they could not; for ſir John Montague *, who had the command of the ambuſcade, which conſiſted of five hundred choſen men, placed himſelf between them and the town. He was knighted on the field, by the earl of Cambridge, and directly attacked them with great vigour.

When the companies of Bourdeilles ſaw themſelves thus entrapped, they were ſenſible of their folly in purſuing ſo far: however, they collected themſelves in a body like brave men, and began to fight valiantly, and to perform ſuch feats of arms as were marvellous to behold. This combat laſted upwards of two hours: and they annoyed their enemies ſo much, and behaved ſo gallantly, that the Engliſh lords were much delighted with them.

Sir John Montague proved himſelf deſerving of his knighthood, by his valour and proweſs in at-

* Sir John Montague,—nephew and heir to the earl of Saliſbury.—BARNES.

tacking

tacking the enemy. At laſt, thoſe of Bourdeilles were entirely defeated: all were killed or made priſoners, for not one of them eſcaped. Thoſe of the Engliſh who had been taken were reſcued. Sir John Montague made the two governors, Ernaudon and Bernardin de Batefol, his priſoners.

During the time of this ſkirmiſh, the earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke had advanced to the barriers and gate, which having gained, they entered the town, the earl of Cambridge's banner diſplayed before them. Thus did the Engliſh conquer Bourdeilles. They made the inhabitants ſwear fealty and allegiance to the prince. The chiefs ordered the lord de Mucident to remain there as governor, and gave him ſixty archers, in addition to his own people. They then broke up their encampment, having determined to march to Angoulême, to know from the prince what he wiſhed them next to do.

Thus ended the ſiege of Bourdeilles; and the lords with their companies ſet out on their return. We will now ſpeak of thoſe knights of England and Gaſcony, who were making inroads in Quercy, and of Chandos the herald, and the news he brought from the prince of Wales.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCLXIII.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES, SIR JOHN CHANDOS AND SIR THOMAS FELTON MARSHAL THEIR MEN, AND RETURN TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

AS theſe knights and their army were making incurſions on the borders of Rouergue and Quercy, taking towns and caſtles, and diſtreſſing the whole country, Chandos the herald returned. He found them before a caſtle in Quercy, which they had hard preſſed. When they ſaw the herald, they received him joyfully, and inquired what news he had brought. He told them that his highneſs the prince ſaluted them all, and was very deſirous of ſeeing them; and at theſe words he gave them the letters from the prince, which the barons took and read.

They found that with many aſſurances of affection and friendſhip, he deſired that ſir John Chandos, ſir Thomas Felton, and the captal de Buch ſhould return to him at Angoulême; and that ſir Robert Knolles with his army, and all the free companies, ſhould remain where they were to continue the war.

When theſe three lords, who were the chiefs of the army, heard the prince's orders, they looked at each other, and aſked what was beſt to be done. With one voice, they addreſſed themſelves to ſir Robert Knolles, and ſaid; 'Sir Robert, you ſee and hear how our lord the prince orders us back, and directs that you ſhould remain in this country to be the leader of the army.'

'My lords,' replied ſir Robert, 'his highneſs the prince does me more honor than I could wiſh. Know,

Know that I will never remain here without you; and that, if you go, I will not ſtay behind.' So they reſolved to return all four to the prince, to learn more fully what were his intentions. This grand expedition was broken up: and, when the time of ſeparation arrived, they ordered ſir Perducas d'Albreth to the town of Roquemadour with his company to defend that part of the frontiers againſt the French. The lords then addreſſed the other free companies as follows:

'Gentlemen, you hear how our lord the prince ſends for us to come to his preſence; for what cauſe we are as yet ignorant. We will therefore explain to you what we wiſh you to do in our abſence. You will collect all your forces into one body, and with them paſs the frontiers of Limouſin and Auvergne, to carry the war thither; for without war you cannot ſubſiſt; and we ſwear and promiſe you faithfully, that whatever town, caſtle or fortreſs of France ye ſhall take and conquer, wherever it may be ſituated, and ye ſhall be beſieged in it, we will fly to your aſſiſtance, and will cauſe the ſiege to be raiſed.' Thoſe who heard this promiſe replied, 'It is well ſpoken, and we will abide by it; for perhaps we may be obliged to have recourſe to you.'

In this manner they ſeparated: the excurſion was put an end to by the lords on one ſide, and the companies on the other. The lords returned to the town of Angoulême, where the prince entertained them handſomely. A ſhort time before, the earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke, with ſir John

John Mountague and ſeveral others, had alſo returned from Perigord.

We will now mention the companies and men at arms who had ſeparated from Sir John Chandos, and how they proſpered.

CHAP. CCLXIV.

THE FREE COMPANIES ATTACHED TO THE ENGLISH TAKE THE CASTLE OF BELLEPERCHE *, AND THE MOTHER OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON WHO WAS IN IT.—THEY ALSO TAKE THE STRONG CASTLE OF ST. SAUVEUR † IN BERRY.

AMONG the leaders of theſe companies, there were three ſquires from the territories of the prince, who were great captains and valiant men at arms, very enterpriſing, and determined ſcalers of fortreſſes. One of them was named Ortingo, another Bernard de Wiſſe, and the third Bernard de la Salle ‡. Theſe three captains wiſhed not to remain long idle, nor without being ſpoken of for ſome gallant deed of arms. They marched with their companies into Limouſin, to refreſh themſelves. At that time, ſir John Devereux was

* Belleperche,—a town and abbey on the Garonne, in the dioceſe of Montauban, near to Caſtel Sarraſin.

† St. Sauveur,—a village in Berry, dioceſe and election of Bourges.

‡ Q. theſe three names. One of my MSS calls the ſecond Bernard de Wiſſe, and ſo does Barnes.

ſénéſchal and governor of the province for the prince.

Theſe three ſquires, having conſidered what caſtle they might conquer from France, fixed upon that of Belleperche, in the Bourbonois. It was beautiful and ſtrong. The mother of the duke of Bourbon and of the queen of France made it her reſidence. They learnt by their ſpies that the good lady was alone, and had not any guards with her except her own houſehold; and that the governor of the caſtle, making frequent excurſions from it, was very far from being attentive or on his guard.

Theſe captains, and ſuch companions whom they had picked out, did not let their intentions ſleep after they had formed them, but rode day and night, and arrived by break of day at Belleperche, which they took by ſcalado, and the mother of the queen of France who was in it. Finding the caſtle was ſo ſtrong and handſome, and in ſo rich a country, they declared they would keep it againſt all oppoſers.

In that ſame night, they alſo took another caſtle, called St. Sauveur, on the borders of Limouſin, and gave it to ſir John Devereux.

News was ſoon carried to France, that Belleperche was taken by the Engliſh, and the mother of the queen made priſoner. The king was very much vexed at this, as were the queen and duke of Bourbon, but they could not better themſelves, at leaſt for the preſent.

About this time, ſir Louis de Sancerre was nominated a marſhal of France: he was a valiant and hardy knight. Sir Arnold d'Andreghen was ſtill alive,

alive, but ſo old and worn out with bearing arms, and from his former labours, that in truth he could not be of any ſervice, nor was he able to do the duties of his office; but he was willing to carry arms whenever it might be neceſſary.

We will ſay a little of the affairs of Picardy, as we have been ſome time with thoſe of the diſtant parts, and ſpeak of an aſſembly which was held in the city of Rouen.

CHAP. CCLXV.

THE KING OF FRANCE, INTENDING TO SEND A LARGE NAVAL ARMAMENT TO THE ENGLISH COASTS, IS PREVENTED BY THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AT CALAIS.

THE king of France, during the ſummer (1369), had made great preparations of ſhips, barges and other veſſels in the port of Harfleur, with the intent of ſending a large force to England, well furniſhed with men at arms, knights and ſquires. His brother, the lord Philip, duke of Burgundy, was appointed commander of this army, which was to deſtroy all England.

The king of France fixed his reſidence in the good city of Rouen, in order to attend more promptly to this buſineſs. He viſited his fleet two or three times every week, to which he ſhewed much affection. Added to this, his ſummons were ſo extenſive that it was wonderful to ſee the numbers of men at arms who were collected in Vexin,

Beauvoiſis, and in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Proviſions and other ſtores were ſo abundantly brought there that they would have been ſufficient for a voyage to Spain or Portugal.

The lord de Cliſſon, who was one of the privy counſellors to the king, approved not of this expedition to England, and did all he could to diſſuade the king and his nobles from it. He told them, they were not ſo much accuſtomed to naval engagements as the Engliſh, and urged many reaſons in ſupport of this, as one who was better acquainted with the manners and habits of the Engliſh, and the ſtate of that country, than many others. Notwithſtanding this, neither the king nor his council would change their mind, but reſolved this armament ſhould ſail.

The king of England and his ſon the duke of Lancaſter, as well as ſeveral of his council, had received information of this army, and of the intentions of the French to invade and carry the war into England. They were much rejoiced at this, and had provided all the ports and harbours oppoſite to Ponthieu and Normandy with ſufficient garriſons of men at arms and archers to receive them, if they ſhould come. The whole kingdom of England was ready prepared to give them a good reception whenever they ſhould land.

The king, having determined to ſend the duke of Lancaſter with a body of men at arms to Calais, immediately named thoſe whom he ordered to accompany him. There were the earl of Saliſbury, the earl of Warwick, ſir Walter Manny, the lord

Roos

Roos of Hamlake, ſir Henry Percy, the lord Baſſet, the lord Willoughby of Ereſby, the lord Delaware, the lord de la Pole, ſir Thomas Grandiſon, ſir Alan Boxhall, ſir Richard Stury*, and many others: the whole force amounted to about five hundred men at arms, and as many archers. They marched to Dover and its neighbourhood. When the tranſports were ready, they embarked, and having a favourable wind, arrived at the ſtrong town of Calais, where they landed, and by little and little diſembarked every thing which belonged to them. They took up their quarters in the town.

About this time the king of England ſent ambaſſadors to entreat moſt earneſtly ſir Robert de Namur to aſſiſt him in the war, with all the men at arms that were dependant on him. Sir Robert, who had ever been ſteady and loyal to the Engliſh, replied, that he ſhould be as ſoon on his march as was neceſſary; for having been informed that the king or one of his ſons was to be at Calais, to make an incurſion, the moment he ſhould hear of the duke of Lancaſter's arrival, he would ſummon all his companions, and thoſe whoſe aſſiſtance he wiſhed for; his arms and every thing elſe being already prepared.

We will now return to what was paſſing in Poitou.

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* Sturie. Barnes calls him Sterrie; Hollingſhead, Sturrie.

CHAP. CCLXVI.

THE CASTLE OF LA ROCHE SUR YON SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH.—THE GOVERNOR OF IT PUT TO DEATH, BY ORDERS FROM THE DUKE OF ANJOU.

YOU will remember, that when the herald Chandos brought the orders from the prince of Wales, the barons and knights of Guienne, who were upon an expedition in Quercy and Rouergue, returned with one accord to the town of Angoulême, where they found the prince, who received them with great joy. Some little time before, the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke had alſo returned with their army, after the conqueſt of Bourdeilles, as you have before heard.

The lords and barons rejoiced exceedingly at this meeting, and great entertainments were made by them. They conſidered which way they ſhould next march, to make the moſt of the ſeaſon. They found, on examining the country, that there was near the borders of Anjou a fine and ſtrong caſtle, called la Roche ſur Yon * which was a dependance of Anjou: there they reſolved to march, lay ſiege to it, and conquer it if they were able.

They made their preparations, and ſet out for that part of the country. They were joined by all

* La Roche ſur Yon,—a town in Poitou, on the Yon, eight leagues from Luçon, fourteen from Nantes.

the barons and knights of Poitou: ſir James Audley, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, ſir Louis de Harcourt, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle, the lord de Pinane, the lord de Tannaybouton, ſir Maubrun de Linieres, and the ſénéſchal of la Rochelle, ſir Thomas Percy. Theſe men at arms and gallant company of lords, when they were all aſſembled, amounted to more than three thouſand lances. They took the field, and came before the caſtle of la Roche ſur Yon, which was well built and ſtrong, with a good garriſon, and well provided with proviſions and artillery.

The duke of Anjou had appointed governor a knight called ſir John Blondeau, who had under his command many good companions, at the charge and pay of the duke.

The lords and barons formed the ſiege in a handſome manner, and with great diſplay. They ſurrounded the caſtle, for they were ſtrong enough to do ſo, and had ordered from Poitiers and Thouars * large engines on carriages, which they pointed againſt the fort, as well as ſeveral cannons and ſpringals, with which the army was provided, and from long cuſtom had always carried with them. They had alſo great plenty of proviſion, which was brought to them daily from Poitiers and the adjacent country.

Sir John Blondeau, finding himſelf thus beſieged by ſo many good men at arms (for almoſt all the

* Thouars,—an ancient city of Poitou, ſixteen leagues from Poitiers.

knights

knights of Acquitaine were there), and that no aid was likely to be ſent to him, began to be alarmed: he well knew that thoſe lords would never leave the place until they had won it by fair or foul means.

In the army of the earl of Cambridge, with ſir John Chandos and the other barons, were ſome knights from Poitou well acquainted with the governor, and who in former times had been his companions in arms.

Theſe knights advanced to the barriers, and upon their faith and aſſurances held a converſation with him, and talked the matter over ſo ably (for he was not a ſenſible man, though a valiant knight,) that he entered into a treaty to deliver up the caſtle, if he were not ſuccoured, nor the ſiege raiſed, within a month; when he was to receive the ſum of ſix thouſand francs for the proviſions in it.

The treaty thus entered into was ratified; and the garriſon remained quiet, under condition, that if the caſtle was not relieved within a month, it ſhould be ſurrendered.

This being done, the knight ſent information of it to the king of France, the dukes of Anjou and of Berry, and to all the lords from whom he expected aſſiſtance, in order that he might be ſecure from any reproaches they might caſt upon him. Notwithſtanding theſe informations, that the caſtle was ſtrong, and abſolutely eſſential to France, on account of the provinces of Touraine and Anjou, no relief was ſent; ſo that, when the month was expired, the Engliſh lords ſummoned the governor

to

to perform his promiſe, for which he had given good hoſtages. Sir John did not intend to break his engagement: he ſaid to his companions, 'Since the king of France and the duke of Anjou are determined to loſe this caſtle, I cannot defend it alone:' he therefore delivered it up to the Engliſh, who took poſſeſſion with great joy. The governor received the ſum of ſix thouſand francs, as agreed upon, for the proviſion in the caſtle, which was well worth it; and he and his garriſon were eſcorted to the town of Angers.

Inſtantly on his arrival, he was arreſted by the governor of Angers, and thrown into priſon; and, as I have heard, was the ſame night put into a ſack, caſt into the river, and drowned by the orders of the duke of Anjou, for having accepted money to ſurrender a caſtle, which had been well provided, and was ſtrong enough to have held out for a year, if the governor had choſen.

Thus did the Engliſh gain the caſtle of la Roche ſur Yon in Anjou, which they well garriſoned and ſtrengthened: they then returned to the prince of Wales at Angoulême.

After the conqueſt of la Roche ſur Yon, which enraged the French much, the lords, as I have ſaid, returned to Angoulême, where the prince gave leave for ſome to go to their homes. Lord James Audley, that valiant knight and ſénéſchal of Poitou, went to his reſidence at Fontenay le Comte *,

* Fontenay le Comte,—a city in Poitou, near la Vendée, dioceſe of la Rochelle, twenty-five leagues from Poitiers,

where he was attacked by ſo ſevere a diſorder that it ended his life. The prince and princeſs were exceedingly grieved at this event, as were all the knights and barons of Poitou. His obſequies were performed at Poitiers in a moſt magnificent manner, and were attended by the prince in perſon *.

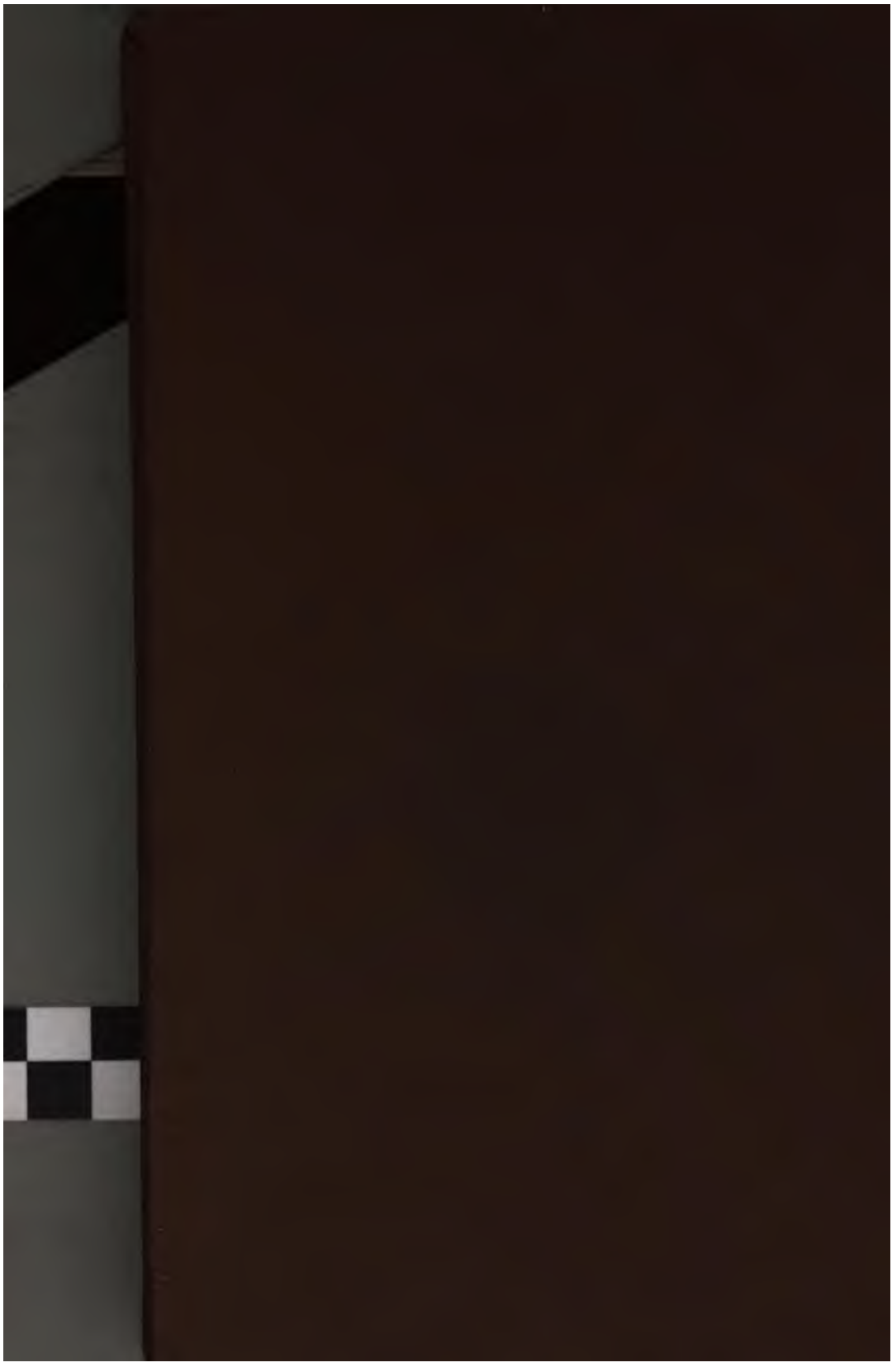
Soon afterward, at the requeſt of the barons and knights of Poitou, ſir John Chandos, who was conſtable of Acquitaine, was appointed ſénéſchal of Poitou, and went to the city of Poitiers, which he fixed on for his reſidence. He frequently made excurſions upon the French, and kept them under ſuch continual alarms, they never dared to venture abroad but in very large bodies.

About this time, the viſcount de Rochechouart obtained his liberty. The prince of Wales had kept him a priſoner, becauſe he ſuſpected him of being inclined to the French; but at the ſolicitations of his friends in Poitou, who were at that time with the prince, he gained his freedom, and was reſtored to his eſtate. When the viſcount de Rochechouart had got his liberty, he went in diſguiſe as ſpeedily as he could to Paris, to the king of France, where he turned Frenchman, and then

* Barnes ſays this is a miſtake—of the ſon for the father. Sir James Audley, ſon of lord James Audley, ſénéſchal of Poitou died in Gaſcony about this time; and on this loſs, lord James, with the prince's leave, retired to England, where he lived many years. He died in 1386, in the ſeventy third year of his age.

Sir John Chandos was nominated ſénéſchal of Poitou, on lord James retiring to England.

came back to his eſtate, without any one being informed of the matter. Having placed Thibaut du Pont, a Breton and expert man at arms, in his caſtle, he directly ſent his challenge to the prince of Wales, againſt whom he kept up a vigorous warfare.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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